J: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

of her vulva, and *vice versa*.[1] Miti′ prepares puddings out of her genitalia, and treats her husband to them. He enters her anus as though it were a house.[1] In another place, on the occasion of a famine, Big-Raven, as well as every member of his family, — except his sons, who are absent with the reindeer, — following Big-Raven's order, each puts his head into his own anus, and, feeding there on excrement, imagines that he is wandering along a river-valley, and procuring fish.[2] Big-Raven appears, besides, as a being of a very low order of intelligence. Not only Miti′, who is represented as being brighter than he, succeeds in deceiving him, and excels him in cunning inventions, but even mice, foxes, and other animals cheat him, make fun of him, and deride him. It goes without saying, that all these funny, foolish, or indecent adventures of Big-Raven and other members of his family, go hand in hand with supernatural deeds and transformations. Although reflecting the Koryak view of nature and deities, they serve mainly as a source of amusement. The coarseness of the incidents does not prevent the Koryak from considering the heroes of those tales as their protectors.

According to some information, Big-Raven's wife Miti′, whose name is also connected with incantations, was thrown down from heaven upon earth by her father, The-Master-on-High[3] (Gıčho′l-etı′nvıla'n). Big-Raven found her in the wilderness, and, knowing nothing of her origin, kept constantly taunting her, saying that she had no kin. Another informer told me that Miti′ fell down upon the tundra from the clouds during a thunder-storm.

According to a third tradition, related to me by an Opu′ka Koryak, Miti′ was the daughter of Crab (Toko′yoto), the master of the sea. This name designates a large sea-crab found in the Pacific Ocean. From what follows, it might seem that it is the spider-crab. Miti′ remained on the shore after high water. Big-Raven found her and took her for his wife. According to Tale 116, Big-Raven found in a water-hole a White-Whale woman, Miti′ by name, whom he took for his wife. Another tradition relates that Miti′ had been married to the master of the sea, and that Big-Raven took her away from him; that Miti′'s older daughters were not Big-Raven's children, but Crab's. This last tale is accompanied by an illustration (Fig. 1) made by a Maritime Koryak, Ka′mmake from the Opu′ka River. Ka′mmake

Fig. 1. Koryak Sketch illustrating the Tale of Big-Raven and the Spider-Crab.

[1] Tale 25. [2] Tale 42. [3] See p. 24.

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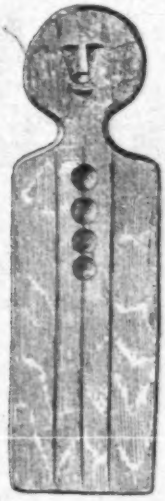
tribe (with the exception of those that serve individual shamans[1]), the "protectors or guardians" belong each to a family, an individual, and in some cases to a whole village. In general, the guardians form a group of objects that are supposed to take care of the welfare of man, and keep away all evil from him. The particular function of the guardians depends upon the office with which they are charged. The same little figure may act as the guardian of a family or of an individual. Nevertheless some "guardians" have definite forms and duties.



I shall now enumerate those guardians about which I have succeeded in gathering information, and which are contained in the collection of the Museum.

Sacred Implements for Fire-Making. — The sacred implements for making fire are the following: —

A fire-board with holes in it, called gi'čgič or ge'čgei (Chukchee, gi'rgir), in which the drill is turned. The board is usually of dry aspen-wood, which readily ignites, and is roughly shaped like a human being. A head is carved out

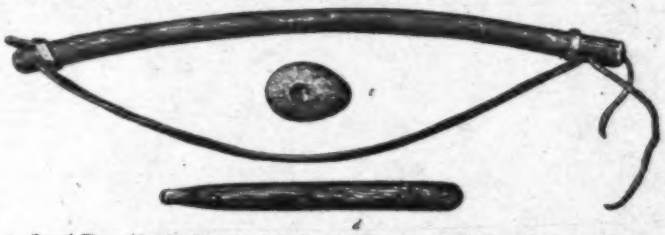


Fig. 2. Sacred Fire-making Implements of the Maritime Koryak. *a*, *b* (1/11, 1/11 a), Fire-Boards (length, 42 cm., 25 cm.); *c*, *d*, *e* (1/11 a, b, c) Bow, Wooden Drill, and Stone Head-Piece (length of bow, 47 cm.).

at one end; and eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated (Fig. 2, *a*, *b*). In some boards the opposite end is carved to represent the legs.

A small bow, called e'yet (Fig. 2, *c*).

A wooden drill, called mā'xem ("arrow"), Fig. 2, *d*.

[1] See Chapter IV, Professional Shamans.

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A head-piece of stone or of bone, with a shallow socket, called čeñe'yine (Fig. 2, *e*), which is put upon the thin upper end of the drill; while the thick lower end of the drill is set into one of the holes in the board. The head-piece (*e*) is held by one person, the board by another, while the bow is turned by a third person (see Plate VI). The thin end of the wooden drill, and one end of stone head-piece, have holes bored in them, that they may be tied, when not in use, to the straps at the end of the bow (Fig. 2, *c*).

The fire-drill is not complete without a small leather bag filled with small pieces of coal, in which the coal-dust produced by drilling is collected. It is considered a sin to scatter the coal-dust.

The Maritime as well as the Reindeer Koryak consider the sacred fire-board, first of all, the deity of the household fire, the guardian of the family hearth. During important festivals and ceremonies, which will be described later on, fire is obtained by means of these sacred fire-boards.

The other functions of this charm are different among the two groups of Koryak. Among the Maritime Koryak the sacred fire-board is the master of the underground house and the helper in the hunt of sea-mammals, while among the Reindeer people it figures as the master of the herd. The Maritime Koryak call it "father" (a'pa); the Reindeer people, "master of the herd" (qaya'-etr'nvila°n) or "wooden kamak" (otkamak).

At the left side of the house of the Maritime Koryak, near the door leading to the porch, a place is usually set aside for guardians and charms, and it is called the "stake-house" (op-yan). There wooden charms are driven into the ground or set against the wall. The sacred fire-board is the most important among the images of this shrine. It is adorned with a collar made of sedge-grass, which is used in all sacrifices. This collar serves the charm in place of clothing. It is "fed" from time to time by smearing its mouth with fat. This is done not only during festivals that have a direct bearing on its cult, but also on the occasion of all other religious and family festivals. From the sacrificial fat, the soot of the hearth, and the indescribable filth prevailing in the Koryak house, the charm becomes covered with a heavy coat of shining black filth; and the more highly esteemed the charm is, the dirtier and the blacker will it become. When, owing to frequent use, the entire base of the charm is filled with holes, a new board is made. The old one, however, is left, like a deserving veteran, in the place set aside for the sacred objects. When moving from the winter house into the summer house, nearer to the sea, the Maritime Koryak takes his charms along; but sometimes summer and winter house have each their own sacred fire-board. I remember having seen the Koryak Yulta make a new sacred fire-board for his winter house because he had forgotten his old one in the summer house; and when the following summer came, he left the new sacred fire-board in his winter house. In the summer of 1900, when visiting a deserted settlement

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along the Paren River, I found a sacred fire-board that had been left behind in one of the houses. It was lying on the ground near the wall, covered with dust, among some seal-bones, old dishes, and scraps of clothing.

The sacred fire-board of the Reindeer Koryak, the "master of the herd" (qaya'-etı'nvıla'n), is kept during the winter in a bag on a pack-sledge or on the covered sledge, which is occupied during travels by the mother and the small children. When the wandering family makes a stop, the sledges are left outside, near the tent. During the summer the sacred fire-board hangs on a cross-beam in the tent.

Besides the articles enumerated above, that are necessary for obtaining fire by drilling, and the bag for the coal-dust, the "master of the herd" of

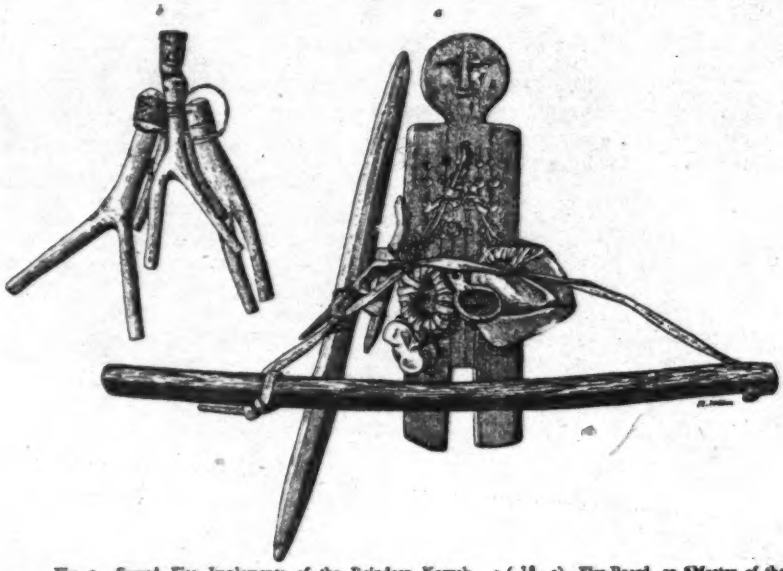

Fig. 3. Sacred Fire Implements of the Reindeer Koryak. *a* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$ a), Fire-Board, or "Master of the Herd," with Attachments (length of fire-board, 33 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$–$\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{7}$), Attachments from a Fire-Board, representing the Assistants of the "Master of the Herd" (length, 10 cm.).

the Reindeer Koryak is also supplied with a lasso, a watch-dog, a sacrificial ladle, an image of a wolf (Fig. 3, *a*), and several little wooden figures. The sacred fire-board keeps the wolf near him to prevent his assailing the herd, while the little forked figures (Fig. 3, *b*) serve as his assistants in guarding the herd, and are called oya'čiku, which properly means "boys," "fellows," although this word has also the meaning of "laborers" and "herdsmen." The sacred fire-board also secures the herd against sickness, and prevents the

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532 reindeer from straying away, and, as often happens, from getting lost. When
788 a reindeer is slaughtered, the sacred fire-board is taken out and smeared with
233 blood. Instead of a grass collar, the Reindeer Koryak put on it a tie made of the hair from the mane of a reindeer-buck.

Among the Maritime group, as well as among the Reindeer Koryak, the sacred fire-board is connected with the family welfare, and therefore it must not be carried into a strange house. But if two families join for the winter and live in one house, in order to obviate the necessity of procuring fuel for two houses, both take their own charms along into the common house, [428] without risk to their effectiveness by so doing. The sacred fire-board is usually transmitted to the younger son, — or to the younger daughter, provided her husband remains in his father-in-law's house and the brothers establish new houses for themselves or raise separate herds. Often fire-boards are found that have outlasted two, three, or more generations.

778 The Drum. — The drum (ya'yai), which, as will be seen later on, plays
534 an important rôle in ceremonials and shamanistic performances, at the same
592 time ranks with the sacred fire-board as one of the guardians of the household. The drum is the master of the sleeping-apartment where it is kept. Every married couple has a drum of their own. A bride who has her own sleeping-tents also possesses her own drum. The drum is especially held in esteem by the Reindeer Koryak. Just as a herd cannot exist without a sacred fire-board, so a family cannot get along without a drum.

778 Kamaks and Kalaks. — A large class of guardian charms are called
342 kamaks and kalaks,[1] — the same names as are applied to the hostile spirits described before.[2] It appears from this that these names do not always signify a thing harmful and evil, like the Yakut word abasy'.[3]

In distinction from the evil spirits, this class of "charm-guardians" are often called otkamak, or okkamak; that is, "wooden kamak." By the Maritime Koryak, the most important place among the wooden kamaks is assigned to the one considered as guardian of the inhabited place. It cannot, however, be called "guardian of the village," in the sense of guardian of the community, since the social organization of the Koryak is so loose that the term "community" cannot very well be applied. The wooden kamak (okkamak) is considered rather as a guardian of the habitation. He is also called Nimyo'lhin, which signifies "habitation," and he appears as a guardian or master of it.

The "guardian of the habitation" has the shape of a post, tapering at the top, and sometimes forked, the thinner branch representing the arm of the charm. It is located close to the village, usually on a hill overlooking

[1] The Koryak plural of kamak is ka'maku. Since kamak has been used with an English plural (Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 631), the English plural has been used here.

[2] See p. 27.

[3] Abasy' (*pl.* abasyla'r) means not only "evil spirit," corresponding to the Koryak kala or to the Chukchee kele, but everything harmful in nature.

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Besides the guardian of the settlements, other wooden kamaks, consisting of long, thin tapered poles, are occasionally found in the villages. They are put up on a rock overlooking the sea, after the whale-hunt, by the owner of the skin boat the crew of which killed the whale. The duties of this wooden kamak are to watch the sea, and to attract new whales. Formerly it was customary to put a collar of sacrificial grass on the charm, and string around it offerings consisting of pieces of whale-skin and of blubber. Since at present the Koryak seldom engage in whale-hunting, I did not see any such decorated posts, but only those that had been put up long ago.[1]

There is still another kind of kalaks connected with whale-hunting. These kalaks are also put up after the whale-hunt; and a man who has killed many whales has several of these charms. They are of small dimensions, are kept in the house, and, when the whale-skin is being broiled, are seated or put up around the fireplace to watch the whale-skin, their tapering ends being driven into the ground. The fire on the hearth is regarded as the sea in which floats the whale-skin, representing the whale. If the whale is not watched, it dives into the fire, and disappears under ground, and whale-hunting ceases.

During this ceremony these kalaks are adorned with collars of sacrificial grass, but they are not "fed;" that is, are not smeared with fat, and are not offered any special food. They must help themselves. There are male and female kalaks; and when there are many of them, they form a family. In ordinary times they stand in the shrine set aside for the charms. The form of these kalaks is not the same in all villages. Since there is no whale-hunting at present, the charms are not made now; but I found several of them in Kamenskoye (Va'ikenan) and Talovka (Xe's-xen). They differ in form. In the village of Kamenskoye they have the shape of sitting figures (Fig. 5, *a-d*), and are usually painted in black: in the settlement of Talovka they have the form of a stick tapering at both ends, with a slight notch for a neck, with indications of eyes, and a line for a mouth (Fig. 5, *e*).[2]

Nets'-Kamak-Face. — This guardian (Ti'ñilat-ka'mak-lō^{t})[3] is made to guard the nets. It helps them to make a great catch, and protects them from the incantations of wicked people. This guardian is smeared with the blood of sea-animals and with blubber. It is kept in the usual place set aside for the charm, and is adorned with sacrificial grass. In winter it is not taken special care of. Like the "village guardian" mentioned above, it is represented as

[1] The following quotation from Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 103) bears witness that the Kamchadal also had wooden kamaks: "The Kamchadal put up a pole on the vast plains of the tundra, tie grass around it, and never pass by without throwing it a piece of fish or something else. Mr. Steller had seen two such posts near Lower Ostrog."

[2] It is interesting to note here that Krasheninnikoff (II, p. 126) speaks of the Kamchadal having small charms with pointed heads, under the name katide. They represent the spirits that enter women while they perform their ritual dances.

[3] Ka'mak-lō^{t} = kamak + lō^{t} ("face"). It refers to the amulets having a human or animal face.

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having only one hand (Fig. 6), possibly because representing the one-sided spirits mentioned in some tales.

Little Kalaks. — The little kalaks (Kala'kpila'qu) correspond to the Chukchee Ta'yñiqut[1] ("misfortune protectors"), and consist of a string or

Fig. 5. Guardians connected with Whale-Hunting. *a–d* ($\frac{7}{11}\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{7}{11}\frac{8}{7}$, $\frac{7}{11}\frac{8}{8}$, $\frac{7}{11}\frac{8}{7}$), from Kamenskoye (*a*, *b*, height, 10 cm., 11 cm.; *c*, *d*, length of each, 12 cm.); *e* ($\frac{7}{11}\frac{8}{9}$), from Talovka (length, 52 cm.).

bundle of small figures, which are considered as charms, and correspond somewhat to the rosary of the Catholic Church. Fig. 7, *a*, represents a string of little kalaks made of willow-branches. The forked part is meant for the legs, while the head and face are very crudely indicated. At times forked willow-

[1] Bogoras, Chukchee Materials, pp. ix, xxxv.

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twigs having a very remote similarity to human figures serve this purpose. They are also called "protectors" (ine'njulanu). However, this latter term is applied to the entire group of guardian-charms. The people usually wear the little kalaks attached to the belt, when travelling or hunting without companions. The Koryak are afraid to drive or walk alone through the woods or in the wilderness, because they believe that evil spirits (kalau), which haunt such places in large numbers, may easily overcome a lonely traveller. In such cases the little kalaks replace fellow-travellers, and serve as guardians against evil spirits. Another string of guardians (Fig. 7, *b*) contains a small human figure made of grass, charmed beads representing drums, and wolf's and hare's hair braided with sinew-thread. The Reindeer Koryak call the string of guardians okka'mak-lō[s]; that is, "wooden kamak face."[1] A snow-beater of antler, with a handle carved in the form of a raven-beak (Fig. 8), is also regarded as a fellow-traveller and guardian.

Fig. 6 (~~$\frac{1}{1}$~~). Guardian of Nets. Length, 21 cm.

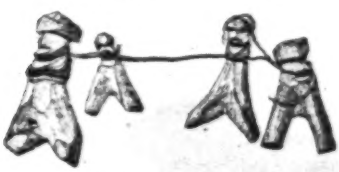

Fig. 7. *a* (~~$\frac{1}{1}$~~), *b* (~~$\frac{1}{1}$~~). Strings of "Little Kalaks," or Guardians. Length of figure, 4 cm.

The-Searching-Kamak-Face. — This kalak (En·a'yıs-ka'mak-lō[s], literally "the searching kamak face") is the special protector of babies. It is usually sewed to the back of the child's shirt-collar[2] (Fig. 9, *a*). In the village of Paren I obtained such a protector attached to a strap (Fig. 9, *b*), which the child used to wear around the neck, under the shirt, like a cross; but

[1] See p. 38, Footnote 3.

[2] It is interesting to compare this with the custom of the Eskimo of Baffin Land, where a woman who is with child wears an amulet attached to the back of her inner shirt (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 143); and among the Central Eskimo, amulets are always worn on the middle of the back of the inner jacket (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 592).

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from among those who do not own a boat, to assist him in his hunt; for not all families are in possession of a skin boat. It is considered a sign of prosperity to own one. The assistants get a share of the product, but are regarded simply as laborers, who work for their master. Sometimes they will give the owner of the skin boat seal-skins to mend the boat; but these are looked upon as presents to the owner of the boat, and he may dispose of them in any manner he may see fit. The first launching of the boat in the spring, and the last beaching in the fall, when it is to be put away for the winter, are considered as family festivals among the Maritime Koryak.

Charmed forked alder-twigs called iklō′ (*sing.* i′kla) are prepared in the spring, when the skin boat is launched, and are placed in the prow of the boat (Fig. 10, *a*). They are the comrades and assistants of the skin boat, and are supposed to attract whales and other sea-animals to it. In the village of Kamenskoye the "guardians" of the whale-skin are also called iklō.[1]

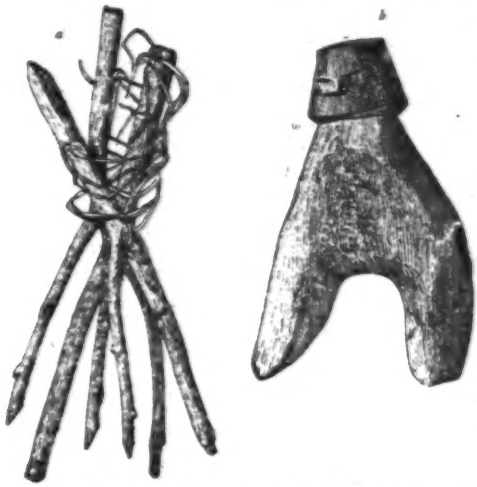

Fig. 10. Guardians of the Skin Boat. *a* ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{10}}$), Forked Alder-Twigs representing Guardians in Human Shape (length, 23 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{2\frac{1}{10}}$), Attachment to the Prow, representing the Manager of the Boat (length, 20 cm.).

On the upper end of the prow of the boat is a small forked figure, placed with legs pointing upward, over which the harpoon-thong is pulled. A face is carved on the opposite end. It is considered the manager of the skin boat. The specimen here figured (Fig. 10, *b*) was an old boat-charm which, having been worn out by use, had been replaced by a new one, and which was deposited among the other *penates* of the house.

THE LADDER. — The ladder which is used for the entrance into the winter house of the Maritime Koryak is also classed among the guardians of the house. A crudely carved human face is represented on the top of the ladder (Fig. 11). It is called Old-Woman (ı′n·pa-ña′ut). This guardian is apparently a woman. The image is also called Ye′ltitkin; that is, "the head of the ladder." The ladder is the master of the house-entrance. It is supposed not to allow any kamaks to get in. When the house is temporarily deserted, — for instance, when the people move to

[1] See p. 38.

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796 in their festive coats; and all welcome the whale, dancing around the fire that is brought from the hearth, and is built up outside the house.

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A man's embroidered dancing-coat is represented on Plate 1, Fig. 2 (opp. p. 48). Other parts of dancing-costumes are shown in Figs. 26 and 27. Fig. 26, *a* shows a doll made by the Koryak Ḷaḷu′ from the village of Kamenskoye, and represents an old man dressed in a dancing-costume, and tied around with sacrificial grass; while Fig. 28, a reproduction of a drawing by the old Koryak Yulta of the village Kamenskoye, represents a scene after the capture

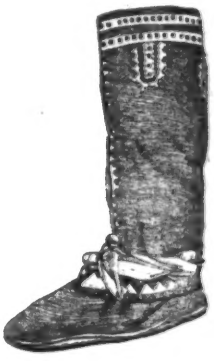

Fig. 27, *a* ($\frac{1}{11}$), Woman's Dancing-Coat; *b* ($\frac{1}{11}$), Woman's Dancing-Boot.

of a whale. In the middle, the whale is lying on grass, one side carved. On the right side of the whale a dog is being sacrificed. Two men are holding it, — one by the head, the other by the hind part, — and a third is holding a spear, ready to stab it. On the ground, near this group, is a dog already slaughtered. Around this central group, men with knives in their hands, and women, are dancing, forming almost a complete circle. On the upper and lower parts of the illustration four places are shown at which grass is spread. Usually the straw-like stems of *Elymus mollis* are used for this purpose. Slices of whale-meat, represented by a number of vertical lines, are spread on the grass; and people are standing near them. At the sides of the figure the owners of the skin boat are seen spreading out the harpoon-lines which were used in the capture of the whale, and which must be dried.

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796 As I said before, the whale festival is at present celebrated in connection with white-whale hunting, for large whales are nowadays very rare in the bays of the Okhotsk Sea. I will describe here the celebration of a festival that I witnessed in the village of Kuel.

It was on the 11th of October, 1900. A white whale had been caught in the nets which the Koryak Qaivi'lok had set for catching seals. In some

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Fig. 28. Koryak Sketch illustrating a Scene after the Capture of a Whale.

places the ground was covered with snow. Blocks of ice had begun to accumulate on the beach, every retreating tide adding to the accumulation of slippery salt-water ice. Early in the morning several men started out on a sledge to fetch the white whale. When they were returning to the village, bringing the whale, a few women in dancing-costumes, but without masks,

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on the prow. Shaking the grass, the people say, "Well, start off!" Then they enter the house, dress up the sacred fire-board in a toy coat, put around its neck a thong with a harpoon, give it a knife, and carry it outside. The owner of the house says to it, "Now, go to the boat!" (Toq! ʌ"tve'ti qatai'!) Then somebody in the house coughs, as though replying to some one, and says, "Aha! father has returned." The sacred fire-board is then taken back into the house and put away to rest until the following spring. I was unable to find out the significance of this symbolic departure of the boat-frame and sacred fire-board, and the return of the latter into the house. It may be surmised that the spirit of the boat and of the sacred fire-board depart for the sea to stay there for the winter.

In the village of Kuel, the ceremonies of sending the boat out to sea, and the starting of a new fire, take place independently of each other. The boat is sent to sea immediately after the close of the hunting-season. From the time when the skins are taken off from the boat until the moment when the frame with the sacrificial grass, and the alder-branches as its oarsmen, is placed on the snow, no fire is allowed to burn in the house. The frame of the boat remains on the snow throughout the winter (see Plate VII, Fig. 1).

In Kuel a new fire is procured from the sacred fire-board after the first new moon of winter. The old fire on the hearth is again put out, and then the new fire is started in the house. Three men without coats, half naked, participate in this performance. One holds the sacred fire-board; another, the upper support of the drill; while the third one works with the drill-bow (Plate VI).

The Launching of the Skin Boat. — The spring festival of launching the boat is called "Mena"tneyevune," which means literally, "Let us launch the boat," and is also a family festival. The seal-skin cover of the boat is soaked in water and put on the boat-frame, which is placed bottom up. The edges of the cover are turned inside, and tied with straps to the frame. Then a sacrificial fire is obtained from the sacred fire-board, and is kept burning under the upturned boat. Pieces of seal-fat are thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to the boat, and the mouth of the sacred fire-board is smeared with fat. Then its eyes are cleaned with a knife, and they say to it, "Well, your eyes have become clear, the sea is open, look out." (Ga, ļeļa't ečtha'tbe, a'ñqan gava'ñtalin, qhite'htn!) The fire under the boat is allowed to die out, and the upturned boat is left to dry. Then it is launched.

The Wearing of Masks. — Heretofore it was not known that the Koryak wore masks in connection with their religious ceremonies. Not one of the former travellers makes mention of them.[1] I referred above to the use of

[1] There are no indications, either in Krasheninnikoff's or in Steller's descriptions of the Kamchadal, that they wore any wooden or grass masks, although Krasheninnikoff does mention that during the fall festival of "purification from sins" those participating in it used to adorn themselves with sacrificial grass, out of which they made wreaths, necklaces, and belts.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

grass masks by the Maritime Koryak during the whale festival. I also found wooden masks in use among them. In October, 1900, I sent Mr. Axelrod from the village of Kuel to the winter village of Paren for the purpose of taking anthropometric measurements of the inhabitants who had just moved there from their summer settlement. Mr. Axelrod, on his return, brought back, among other things, a few wooden masks. Since those masks appeared to me to be similar to the crude masks of the northern Alaskan Eskimo, and since the use of masks in general suggested a possible contact between the Koryak and the tribes of the western coasts of America, I went personally to the village of Paren in order to acquire more detailed information regarding the meaning and use of these masks. The settlement of Paren is fifteen miles distant from Kuel. It is situated on the left bank of the Paren River, ten miles above its estuary. The inhabitants spend spring, summer, and autumn on the seashore in the settlement of Khai'mchik, at the mouth of the river Paren. As soon as the hunting-season closes, they move to Paren. While the seashore is altogether treeless, forests grow near the winter settlement, offering some protection against sea gales, and furnishing wood for fuel and building-material.

In Paren I learned the following about the use of masks, called by the Koryak ulya'utkoučñin (literally, "wearing of masks;" from u'lya, "a mask"). They are worn during the first winter month after the new moon. Their use is partly for religious purposes, partly for amusement, the celebration being a kind of masquerade. The object of walking about in masks and masquerade costumes is to drive away the kalau (kne'ñvit-aita'ti)[1] who have taken possession of the houses during the absence of the people in summer. The masks represent Big-Raven and members of his family, who constantly waged war with the kalau. However, when the masked performers descended into the house where I stopped, they were met with shouts of "Ugh! kalau have arrived!" (Gik, ñe'nveticñin yelxi'vi!) which was apparently meant either as a joke, or to frighten the kalau that were in the house. There are masks representing men and others representing women. The difference between them is that the former have mustaches, in a few cases also chin-beards, drawn with black paint or a piece of coal, while the latter are not painted at all. In Paren, only young men wore masks, not girls. They were dressed in the most homely manner. They had pulled the sleeves of their shaggy reindeer coats over their legs, and tied them so that the hood dangled behind like a tail; and they wore old greasy leather shirts. They rolled down into the house with great noise, missing several steps of the ladder. They examined all the nooks and corners. Then they commenced a dance, and represented various scenes of the coming winter life, — bear-hunting, sledge-riding, and racing. Plate v, Fig. 2 (see opp. p. 74), represents three masked persons pretending to warm themselves by a wood-

[1] See p. 87.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 pile. They received presents of pieces of sugar, tobacco, and ornaments, from
536 the owner of the house. Thus they visited all the houses of the settlement.

Paren is the only village along the entire western coast of Penshina Bay
171 in which wooden masks are used. The rest of the settlements are occupied
in summer as well as in winter; and the wearing of masks is considered a sin.
532 In Kuel, for instance, the Koryak refused to arrange a "wearing of masks,"
771 as I requested, since it is forbidden. I was told in Paren that the custom of "wearing masks" is still observed in the settlements of Reki'nniki (Rekı'nnok) and Podkaghirnoye (Pitka'heñ), along the eastern coast of Penshina Bay. Subsequently Mr. Bogoras sent me a few masks from Reki'nniki. Besides, he found wooden masks among the Alutora Koryak of Baron Korff Bay. Even the small

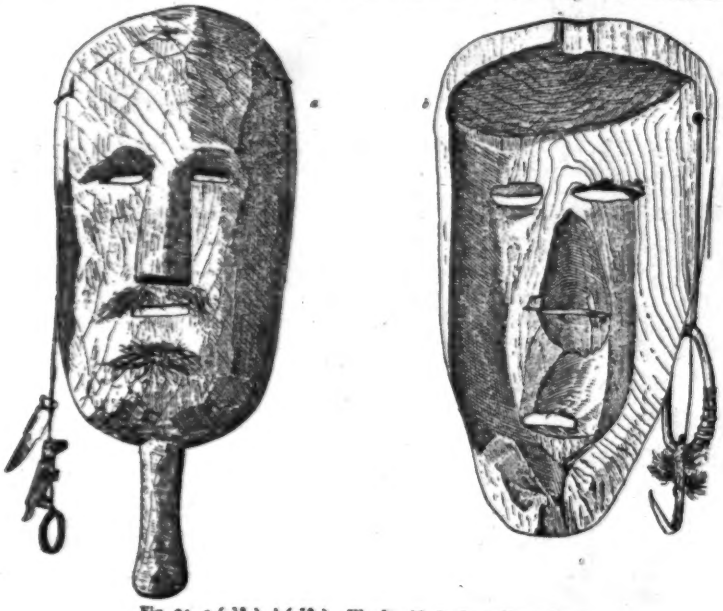

Fig. 34, *a* (r̥ɨ̥ɹ), *b* (r̥ɨ̥ɹ). Wooden Masks from Alutor Bay.

Reindeer camps of the Alutora Koryak, which are inhabited by families some of whose members live in Maritime villages, also have such masks and masquerades. It is noteworthy that the inhabitants of these villages stay there during summer also. According to Mr. Bogoras, the "wearing of masks" in these villages is rather a masquerade. The masks, unlike those from Paren, have pendants attached, consisting of rings, little bells, and other ornaments, or of models of things the masqueraders would like to receive. To one of them (Fig. 34, *a*) are appended

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 171 [52] 771

carvings representing a dog, a knife, and a ring. In the eastern settlements, both boys and girls wear masks. The masks of the Alutor Koryak have names. Mr. Bogoras has recorded two names: one, that of a woman's mask, — Kŭlu' (the name of Big-Raven's niece); and the other, that of a man's mask, — Amka'vvi. When the masks which represent Big-Raven's children enter a house, they dance, and enact various pantomimic scenes, but do not utter a word, and do not ask for anything; but the pendants on their masks indicate the kind of presents they would like to receive. These pendants very often call for things which, according to local prices, are considered very valuable. These presents are never refused; but later on the donors go into the houses of the masqueraders to get return-presents.

[431]

In North America the use of masks by Eskimo and Indians for religious or festive purposes, or for pantomimes, is not confined to the western slope of the Rocky Mountains; masks are found also among the Iroquois, the Pueblo tribes, the prehistoric inhabitants of Florida; and we know that the Eskimo of Baffin Land use leather masks during festivals.[1]

Among the other Eskimo, only the Alaskan tribes use masks. They are also found among the Aleut. From the fact that among the Alaskan Eskimo, masks become more numerous and more elaborate the nearer we approach that part of Alaska inhabited by the Indians of Tlingit stock, Murdoch infers that the former might have borrowed masks of the Indians.[2] I do not undertake to settle this question; but in simplicity and crudeness of finish, the wooden masks of the Koryak are so much like the Eskimo masks of Point Barrow, that it might be supposed that the Koryak and Eskimo masks originated from a common source. It is very strange, however, that the Chukchee, who live between the Koryak and the Eskimo, have no masks.[3]

539.

The collection of Koryak wooden masks in the American Museum in New York consists of nine specimens collected by me at Paren, two from Reki'nniki, and two from Baron Korff Bay, obtained by Mr. Bogoras. All the masks an made so that the eyes and month fit the face of the weaver. Fig. 35 represents the masks from Paren. All these masks are very rudely made. Only one of them (Fig. 35, *f*) is finished off somewhat smoothly. The outer edges of all the others are not smooth, but show the marks of the adze. Judging from its size, the mask shown in Fig. 35, *f*, was made for a child. It has no openings for the mouth and eyes. The eyebrows are drawn with black paint. The nose, though not short, is cut off straight at its lower end,

[1] Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 141. The Yukaghir used to wear leather masks when dissecting their dead shamans (see Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 110).

[2] Murdoch, p. 370.

[3] Besides the Koryak and the Yukaghir, whose culture leans toward that of American tribes, and the Siberian Buddhists, some other tribes of northern Asia seem to use masks. Potanin (II, p. 54) mentions that the shamans of the Tchern-Tatars (Altaians) sometimes use masks (koro) made of birch-bark, and ornamented with squirrels' tails to represent eyebrows and mustache.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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thus representing the characteristic form of the Koryak nose. The groove between the lips apparently represents the teeth, two lines on the cheeks represent tattooing. The eyes are straight, and not narrow. Fig. 35, *d*,

Fig. 35. Masks from Paren (*c*, inner side). *a* (), *b* (), *c* (), *d* (), *e* (), *f* ().

represents a mask of a similar character. The masks shown in Fig. 35, *a-c*, have small openings for the eyes and mouth. Eyebrows, upper lip, and chin are painted with coal. The one shown in Fig. 35, *c*, has a cross on the

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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forehead. On the rim, on a level with the eyes, small holes are made for the straps by means of which the masks are tied on. The inner side of the masks is either flat or hollowed out very little (Fig. 35, *e*): thus the mask does not closely envelop the face, and the wearer is able to see the floor on either side. As stated before, the mask shown in Fig. 35, *f*, is finished more carefully, and at the back of it is a depression for the nose.

The masks shown in Fig. 36 are from the village of Reki'nniki. They differ from those from Paren by their large size, pointed chin, and in having ears. Besides this, one, Fig. 36, *a*, has a pendant like the Alutora masks, — in this case a bell, — and its cheeks are painted with ochre. Apparently Fig. 36, *b*, represents a man's mask; and Fig. 35, *a*, that of a woman.

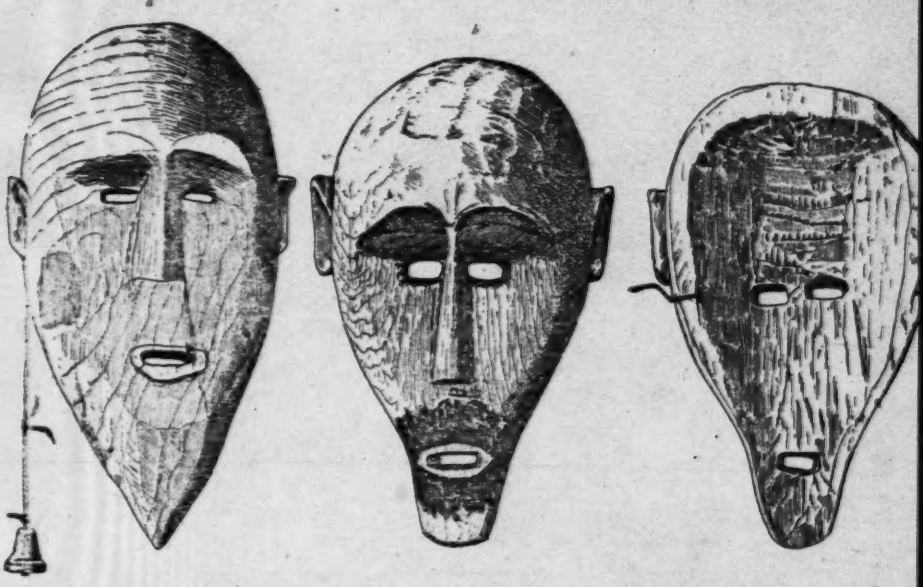

Fig. 36, *a* (3/17), *b* (1/12), *c* (3/13). Masks from Reki'nniki (*c*, inner side).

The Alutora masks both have pendants. One (Fig. 34, *b*) is painted on the inner side, and is very slightly hollowed, like those from Paren; while the other (Fig. 34, *a*) has hair on the upper lip and a tuft of hair on the lower lip, the hair being driven into the wood. This mask has a wooden handle under the chin, similar to the handles of the Eskimo drums, apparently for the purpose of holding it in the hand. It should be noted here that the Koryak do not attempt to give their masks animal forms.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R14

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Fig. 37 represents four masks from Point Barrow, which were collected by Lieut. P. H. Ray's expedition,[1] of which Mr. Murdoch was a member, and are deposited in the National Museum in Washington.

Fig. 37. Eskimo Masks from Point Barrow (c, inner side).

These, as well as the other masks from Point Barrow, described by Mr. Murdoch,[2] differ little from the Koryak masks. They are somewhat better

[1] The International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, 1881-83. [2] Murdoch, p. 366.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ryy Koryak Ry4

532 171

finished. All of them have openings for the eyes and mouth. The eyes are narrower than on the Koryak masks; and on two of them the outer corners of the eyes are somewhat raised. The face is less oval in form, and the nose is shorter: generally the forms of the Eskimo masks approach more closely the type which is called "Mongolian" than those of the Koryak. Fig. 37, *c*, represents the inner side of one of these masks, and shows that they are just as little hollowed out as those of Koryak make.

532

While in the village of Paren the wearing of masks is practised only during the first winter month after the new moon, in the settlements of northern Kamchatka and in those of Baron Korff Bay the young people, according to Mr. Bogoras, amuse themselves with masks during the entire winter.

New masks are made every fall; and the old ones, which are no longer needed, are thrown away in a lonely place away from the village.[1]

I did not see grass or wooden masks among the Reindeer Koryak.[2] I only found a leather mask (Fig. 38) among the Reindeer Koryak on the Tilkhai River; but they said that it was not used in any ceremony. It represents a cannibal kala. Women put on such masks in order to scare the children.

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Fig. 38 ($\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{10}$). Leather Mask from Tilkhai River.

Festivals of the Reindeer Koryak. — Since the time I spent with the Reindeer Koryak did not coincide with the season of their festivities, I had to be contented with such verbal information as I was able to get from the Koryak. The main festivals of the Reindeer Koryak are the following.

Ceremony on the Return of the Herd from Summer Pastures. — The majority of the Reindeer Koryak send their herds, with their sons or herdsmen, to the mountains; and they themselves remain near some river to fish or to go to sea. When the first snow covers the ground, the herdsmen with the herd return to the summer dwelling. As soon as the approach of the herd is noticed, the fire in the house is put out, and a new fire is made outside the house with the sacred fire-board, and a pile of wood is ignited with the new fire. Burning brands are then laid

[1] It is worth while to note here, that, after the religious ceremonies which used to take place in December, the Aleutians broke and threw into the sea the charms which they had used during the ceremonies, and the masks worn by their men and women; and that every year they made new charms and new masks (Dall, p. 139).

[2] With the exception of the Alutora Reindeer Koryak (see p. 81).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

796 526 the races, a sacrifice is made to The-One-on-High. Then the race begins; and the winner receives some tobacco, a knife, or some other imported article, as a prize. It happens sometimes that the host sacrifices the racing-reindeer which he has been riding. Before stabbing it, he takes it around the house. In olden times he wore a suit of armor on such occasions. I heard that even now rich people of the Palpal Mountains put on armor[1] when slaughtering sacrificial reindeer during the race festival.

796 *Festival of "Going around with the Drum."* — The Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula told me of a festival which they celebrate yearly after the winter solstice, and which is called Ya'yai-kamle'lehıyŋin ("[with] drum around going"). Rich men invite all their neighbors to this festival, offer a sacrifice to The-One-on-High, and slaughter many reindeer for their guests. If there is a shaman present, he goes all around the interior of the house, beating the drum, and driving away the kalau. He searches all the people who are present in the house, and, if he finds a kala's arrow (which is invisible to ordinary men) in the body of one of them, he pretends to pull it out. In this manner he protects them against disease and death. In the absence of a shaman, this act is performed by the host, or by a woman versed in incantations.

Ceremonials Common to both Maritime and Reindeer Koryak. — The ceremonies performed after hunting wild reindeer or other land-animals are the same among the Maritime and the Reindeer Koryak. They are particularly elaborate after successful bear or wolf hunting. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to witness them personally; and the following descriptions are based on verbal information obtained from various persons.

The Bear Festival. — The bear is equipped for the home journey, like the whale; and the home-sending is called Ke'vŋınačixtathi'yŋin ("Bear-service"). When the dead bear is brought to the house, the women come out to meet it, dancing, with fire-brands. The bear-skin is taken off with the head; and one of the women puts on the skin, dances in it, and entreats the bear not to be angry, but to be kind to them. At the same time some meat is put on a wooden platter, and they say, "Eat, friend!"

[532]

Fig. 39 (~~$\frac{1}{11^{1}_{2}}$~~). Wooden Figure representing Bear. Length, 35 cm.

Fig. 39 shows a wooden figure representing the bear during the festival. It is fed in the same manner as the wooden whale during the whale festival.

[1] Suits of armor are preserved by many of the wealthy Reindeer people as heirlooms in remembrance of the ancient war times.

1; Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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as an offering to the kala, with the words, "This blood is for thee, kala." Otherwise the kala might intercept the sacrifice, and prevent its reaching the Supreme Being, who resides in the sky. Figs. 40 and 41 are reproductions of sketches made by the Maritime Koryak Yulta, of Kamenskoye, and illustrate

Fig. 40. Koryak Sketch illustrating a Kala intercepting a Sacrifice. *a*, the Supreme Being, his wife, and souls hanging in the house; *b*, shaman beating drum, and dying patient; *c*, sacrifice of a dog; *d*, kala intercepting sacrifice.

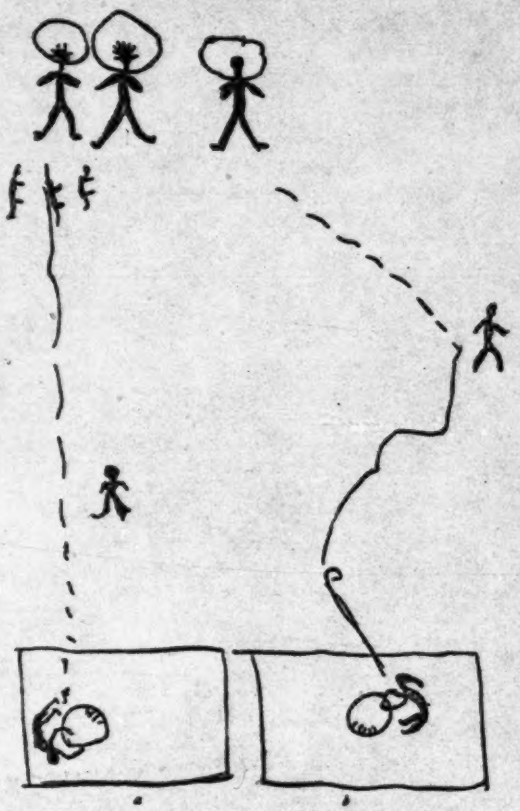

Fig. 41. Koryak Sketch representing, *a*, Sacrifices reaching Heaven; *b*, Girl invoking Cloud-Man (see p. 26).

these ideas. Fig. 40 shows a kala intercepting the sacrifice, and the patient, who is treated by a shaman, dying; while Fig. 41, *a*, represents the sacrifices reaching heaven, and the patient being cured. The sacrifices offered to the Supreme Being are placed eastward, facing the rising sun; while those offered

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 to the kala face toward the setting sun.[1] The kalau come from this side.
782 They sleep during the day, and after sunset go out hunting human beings. But at the same time I was told of kalau which come from the direction of Kamchatka, or from the east. Other kalau live in a subterranean kingdom. The blood from the wounds of animals sacrificed to the Supreme Being is sprinkled on the ground as an offering to them.

782 Sacrificial animals are killed by being stabbed in the heart with a spear. Dogs are killed in the following manner. One man holds a strap which is tied to the dog's neck; and another one stands back of the dog, holding it by a strap which encircles the hind part near the hind legs. The animal is thus held, unable to move. Frequently the dog does not suspect what is going to happen, wags its tail, and fawns upon the man in front, thinking that he is playing with it, or that he is about to hitch it to a sledge. A third man, who stands to the left of the dog, suddenly thrusts a spear into its heart (Plate VII, Fig. 2). It is considered a good sign if the dog is quiet before the blow, and does not resist. A long spear is therefore used, and not a knife, so that the animal may not be frightened. An unsuccessful blow is regarded as a bad sign. The men who are holding the dog pull the strap taut while the animal is writhing in convulsions, then they let it drop on its right side. In some places two men hold with their hands the dog that is to be killed; they lift it in the air, and a third one stabs it with a spear. An unsuccessful blow is regarded as a sign that the deity does not wish to accept the sacrifice: therefore the striking of the blow is intrusted to an experienced and skilful man. I recall, that, in the settlement of Paren, an excited young Koryak came running to me with a deep bite on his leg. He had held by its head a dog that was to be sacrificed. The old man who was to kill the dog did not hit the heart at the first stroke; and before he was able to strike the second deadly blow, the dog managed to bite the leg of the Koryak who was holding its head. This sacrifice, which was offered on the occasion of the illness of a boy, was looked upon as not accepted by the deity; and another sacrifice was required, if the boy was to recover. The dogs killed as an offering to the Supreme Being are hung on a post, the upper pointed end

[1] The creative deities of the Yakut are also supposed to reside in the east; and the chief of the upper evil spirits, Great-Lord (Ulu Toyo'n), occupies the western part of the sky. Among the Altai people (Potanin, IV, p. 79) the skins of animals sacrificed to the benevolent deity (U'lgen') are placed head eastward; while the skins of animals sacrificed to the chief of the evil spirits (Ye'rlik) are placed head westward. The same is true among the Samoyed. When they stab a reindeer in sacrifice to the benevolent deity Nu'mas, they put the killed animal head toward the east; but when the animal is sacrificed to the malevolent deity Av-Vesaka, head toward the west. After eating the most of the sacrificed reindeer, they put the head on a post, turning it toward east or west according to the deity to whom the offering is made (Potanin, IV, p. 697). Among the Buryat, on the contrary, the benevolent Tetkii occupy the western part of the sky; and the evil Tetkii the eastern (Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 4). It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Bella Coola Indians place the evil in the west, and the good in the east. They regard the earth as an island swimming in the boundless ocean, and believe that when the mythical giant moves our earth westward, we have epidemics; when he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears (Boas, Bella Coola Indians, p. 37).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R74 Koryak R74

VII. — GENERAL VIEW OF NATURE.

My studies of the religious life of the Koryak, and of their conception of the universe, lead me to think that their conception of nature approaches very closely the ideas of the Indians of the North Pacific coast. At the same time, however, the religion and the myths of the Koryak contain traces of Asiatic and Eskimo ideas. 774 772

The Koryak view of nature is most primitive. Not only all visible objects, but also the phenomena of nature, are regarded as animate beings. This idea of a vital principle residing in objects and phenomena of nature is essentially an anthropomorphic idea.

Everything visible in nature, and everything imaginary, — that is, all that is within and beyond the limits of our visual powers (as, for example, animals, plants, stones, rivers, a wind, a fog, a cloud, luminaries, spirits, and deities), — are thought of as material beings of anthropomorphic form. These anthropomorphic ideas are often schematic and incomplete. This is shown by the wooden images of "guardians." Since the Koryak have attained quite a high degree of skill in carving figures true to nature, and in endowing them with motion and life, we cannot help being surprised at the crudeness of the outlines of their wooden representations of the "guardians." This apparently corresponds to their vague anthropomorphic notions of invisible objects as they present themselves to their mind. [512]

On the other hand, this vagueness of their notions does not prevent them from being material. To their minds it is an undoubted fact that objects and phenomena of nature conceal an anthropomorphic substance underneath their outer forms. At the period of the appearance of man on earth, — that is, at the time of Big-Raven, which corresponds to the mythological age of the Indians of the Pacific coast of America, — the transformation of animals and other objects into men was quite a natural occurrence. All objects appeared in two states. One corresponded to the exterior form of things, serving as a cover; and the other, to the interior, anthropomorphic form. Every object may turn into a human being by casting off its outer shell. The myths of both the Koryak and the Pacific coast Indians are full of such episodes. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the ermine, the mouse, the raven, and other animals, are described as taking off their skins and becoming men. In the same manner the Fog people come out of a dispersing fog,[1] and a cloud turns into a Cloud-Man. By casting off their hard exteriors, stone hammers turn into Stone-Hammer people, who go fishing.[2] Fishes, also, take on the form of human beings. 713

[1] Tale 94. [2] Tale 48.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44 Koryak R44

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The keel or central timber (čr'ŋəq, "backbone"), shown in *a*, is made of a single long timber bent upward in the direction of the prow, after the fashion of a sledge-runner. The fore-end of the prow terminates in a fork, through which the harpoon-line is passed when the harpoon is hurled at a sea-mammal. Sometimes this fork, on which a human face is carved to serve as a protector for the boat, is made of a separate piece of wood, and is tied with thongs to the upturned fore-end of the keel. At the stern the central timber is turned up at an angle (*a'*). Generally the stern post is made separately, of the lower part of a tree and its root, which join at a right or obtuse angle, according to the kind of tree selected. The bent stern post is then fastened to the central timber by means of thongs, which pass through drilled holes. The bottom of the skin boat is formed by the flat part of the central timber and the lateral curved double beams on either side (*b*), the ends of which are fastened to the central timber aft at the angle of the stern, and forward at the place where the keel begins to curve upwards. To the flat bottom of the frame belong also the cross-bars (*c*), which are fastened by thongs passing through holes in the central timber (*a*) and the two side-beams (*b*).

[532]

The sides of the boat are formed, in the first place, by the ribs (*d*). The mid-ribs passing from the curved side-beam (*b*) are shorter than the ribs which issue immediately from the central timber (*a*) near the prow. These also form a more obtuse angle with the bottom than do the mid-ribs. The ribs are fastened with thongs to the curved lateral bottom beams (*b*) of the boat on its inner side, and to the central timber and to the gunwales (*e*) on the outside. The wooden frame is further strengthened by the rails (*f*), which run along under the gunwales, and are fastened to the inside of the ribs, and the double longitudinal cleats (*g*), which are fastened to the ribs both on the inside and on the outside. The outer cleat is of one piece; while the inner one consists of separate pieces, and is not continuous. They serve both to strengthen the frame and as steps to avoid treading on the skin covering while boarding the boat, and to prevent the cargo from pressing against it. Both forward and aft a bow is attached to the rails (*f*), which rests on the inner side of the frame, against the upturned central timber. Thwarts for the oarsmen (*k*) rest on the rails (*f*), and are tied with thongs to the gunwales (*e*). At the prow and stern semicircular boards also rest on the rails (*f*). They are tied to the bows of the gunwale. At the stern this board serves as a seat for the steersman, while that at the prow (*i*) is the seat of the harpooneer. The model represented in Fig. 80 has the following measurements: —

Greatest width of front board (*i*)	22.0 cm.
Greatest width (19 cm. aft from the stem)	26.5 cm.
Width at 1st thwart	26.3 cm.
Width at 2d thwart	25.0 cm.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

324 This may probably be explained by the fact that the Koryak practised the art of polishing stone very little. As is well known, but few traces of the working of stone for artistic purposes have been found in palæolithic stations of Europe. Among the Eskimo carvings in the National Museum at Washington, we find some specimens of animal figures made from soapstone and flint.[1]

323 532 Nor do the Koryak use clay for moulding figures, and we do not know if they ever used it for that purpose. In the excavations of ancient dwellings of the Maritime Koryak, mentioned before, I found traces of their former art in pottery which disappeared with the introduction of metallic utensils; but no remains of clay toys have been found.[2]

There is no doubt that among the works of art of North America, the Eskimo carvings of animals resemble those of the Koryak most closely. The Eskimo, the Koryak, the Kerek, and the Chukchee are the only primitive tribes among whom miniature sculpture has been so strongly developed.[3]

517 532 171 All the tribes mentioned here use the same technical processes in carving. Their carvings are realistic in character, are of small or even miniature size, and to a great extent are made as much for the pleasure which the carvers derive from their work as for the satisfaction of the æsthetic tastes of the people. The difference between the Eskimo and Koryak carvings is, that the latter are less available for practical application than the former, and are of greater artistic worth. In that regard the Chukchee carvings resemble more closely those of the Eskimo, judging from the collection furnished by our Expedition and from the collection of the Ethnographical Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.[4] Even the Kerek carvings are inferior to those of the Koryak in their finishing touches. The Chukchee and the Kerek carvings still further resemble those of the Eskimo, in that they are more frequently decorated with engravings, consisting chiefly of dots and lines, than those of the Koryak.

532 171 The plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast, in so far as it is expressed in carving, is entirely different from that of the Koryak and

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[1] See Murdoch, pp. 398, 399.

[2] Nelson obtained on the Lower Yukon, where the art of pottery was formerly developed, a pair of rudely modelled clay dolls (see Nelson, Fig. 126 on p. 342, and p. 343). In the excavations of the ancient Ainu underground dwellings were found, among the remnants of pottery, clay figures of men. Some figures collected by Professor E. Baelz are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde of Berlin (see p. 645). It is possible that the Koryak made figures of unbaked clay, and that therefore no trace is left of them, as articles made of unbaked clay crumble in the moist ground. The avidity with which the Koryak seize upon every material fit for sculpture may be judged from the fact that their children, as soon as they convinced themselves that the plaster I used could be cut with the knife, started to make toy dishes and animal figures from the pieces which fell on the ground while I was making my masks. Before trying the use of the knife, however, they touched the plaster with their tongues, to see if they could make more palatable use of it.

[3] Among European nations, the Swiss are known for their miniature sculpture from wood and ivory. Really artistic articles may be found quite frequently among the Swiss products; but as a rule, their figures of animals, notwithstanding the careful and detailed finish, produce a less vivid impression than some of the crude figures of the Koryak, in which the most characteristic posture of the animal is brought out.

[4] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XX. XXI.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Chukchee. Although some samples of Indian art among the collections of the Amerian Museum of Natural History are proof of the ability of Indian artists to give their carvings quite a realistic and artistic expression of animal forms,[1] yet the general tendency of the Indian art of carving is purely symbolic, aiming principally at bringing out the most characteristic parts of the body of the animal at the expense of its other parts, and of a realistic presentation of the animal as a whole.

The carvings of the western neighbors of the Koryak, the Tungus and the Yakut, can in no wise be compared with their own. The former lack all artistic merit. Taking as a fair sample the collection of Yakut carvings obtained by me, consisting of figures of animals or human beings made from mammoth-tusks, we find it to consist of rigid figures having only an outward resemblance to men and animals. The artist was unable to put life and motion into them. It is seldom that any of the Yakut can carve even such crude figures. Near Yakutsk, for instance, two or three Yakut are known to turn out open-work from mammoth-ivory. They also turn out rigid realistic carvings of the kind I am describing. They make combs and boxes from mammoth-ivory, ornamented with open-work carving. Yet these articles are rather products of mechanical art, made to meet the demand of the Russians, than works of art for art's sake.

The art of the Yakut, principally their decorative art, is of purely Central Asiatic, Chinese, or Russian origin, and consists of curves, spirals, and conventionalized animals and plants. Only the enormous wooden kumiss goblets and cups, from which the Yakut drink, and make sacrificial libations during the religious kumiss festivals, are supplied with primitive technical ornamentation, judging by the Yakut names of the carved figures.[2]

When we speak of Koryak or Chukchee carvings, it should be added that we refer to the Maritime people only. The Reindeer Koryak, with very few exceptions, have not developed that art. This is not due to the fact that the reindeer-breeders have no æsthetic tastes, but to their lack of the necessary leisure. The Maritime Koryak, on the contrary, spend the winter almost idly in a more or less warm house, and have sufficient time to indulge in the pleasure derived from the art of carving. The same reason may be advanced to explain why only the men engage in carving: the women are too busy with the household, and apply their æsthetic taste to the ornamentation of their dresses.

It is worth noting, that, among the Koryak carvings, we seldom find figures of reindeer, and the few we do find are poorly executed. The conclusion might be drawn from this, that fondness for carving developed among

[1] See Boas, Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., IX, p. 125).

[2] See Jochelson, Kumiss Festivals of the Yakut and the Decoration of Kumiss Vessels (Boas Anniversary Volume, New-York, Stechert, 1906, pp. 257–271).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 174 the Koryak before the beginning of reindeer-breeding, and that through force of habit the artists used for their models principally objects of maritime life.

The carvings of the Maritime Koryak along the shores of Bering Sea — the Alutor people and those on the rivers Opuka and Poqač — are more artistic than those of the inhabitants on the shores of Penshina Bay. The latter, moreover, lack such material as walrus-tusks, since walrus are not found in their home: and the artists there have to be content mainly with wood, and have to obtain their walrus-ivory through barter.

532 517 Among the objects of Koryak miniature sculpture are not only quadrupeds, birds, fish, and other animals, but also human beings. The artists render the figures of human beings or of animals in the round or in relief, mostly in high-relief mounted on a base.

Carvings representing Men. — In carvings representing men, wrestling-matches or the beating of drums, as well as hunting-scenes, are most frequently selected, on account of the animated motions of these actions. In wrestling, as well as in domestic shamanism or in the beating of drums for their own pleasure, men strip to the belt. This is the form in which the artist strives to present vividly the human body. Female figures are carved less frequently,

Fig. 166. *a* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$). *b* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$). Wood-Carvings representing Wrestlers. From Mikino. Height, 7.5 cm., 14.5 cm.

and always dressed. Unlike the Chukchee women, the Koryak women do not strip at home. Besides, the realistic presentation of the female body is much more difficult than that of the male, and it is also more difficult to put life into the figure of a human being clothed than into a nude figure. The striving of the Koryak artists toward the realistic presentation of the human form pertains mainly to the upper part of the body. The curves of the back and the tension of the muscles are very strikingly reproduced in ivory by good artists. The Koryak artist does not take the trouble to finish off in detail the feet of men or of animals. Human heads are more poorly finished than are those of animals.

Let us begin with the less artistic models from the shores of Penshina Bay.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 Figs. 166 and 167 represent different forms of wrestling of two contestants. In Fig. 166 two wrestlers are trying to throw each other. In both of these groups some care is bestowed upon the modelling of the back, the muscles of the shoulders and the curvature of the spine being indicated. In Fig. 166, *b*, an attempt is also made to model the chest. This specimen is not quite complete, the two arms on the farther side being carved out, but still connected by a piece of wood, which on the nearer side has been whittled away. The farther arms of the wrestlers are so placed that the man on the left rests his straight left arm against the right shoulder of the man on the right; while the man on the right grasps the arm of the man on the left, from above, on the inner side of the elbow. The chests of the wrestlers shown in Fig. 166, *a*, are not modelled in detail.

Fig. 167 represents wrestlers pulling each other. In these figures neither back nor chest is modelled so as to bring out muscular details. In *a* the

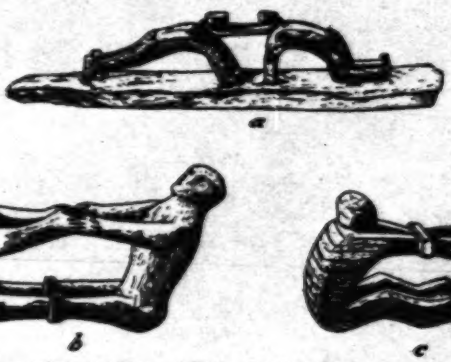

Fig. 167. *a* ($\frac{1}{3}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{3}$), *c* ($\frac{1}{3}$). Wood-Carvings representing Wrestlers. Length, 16 cm., 11.5 cm., 8.5 cm. *a*, *b*, From Big Ithana; *c*, From Paren.

contestants, with a leather noose thrown around their heads, are pulling it in opposite directions with the backs of their heads. In *b* the contestants, sitting on the ground with the soles of their feet firmly pressed against each other's, pull with the hands. In *c* the contestants, also sitting on the ground, are holding a stick, which each is pulling in his own direction.

Fig. 168 represents a man beating a drum. His position is very characteristic. The back and the left shoulder are well modelled, the head being forward and turned to the left. The modelling of the twist of the neck, brought about by this turn of the head, is particularly well executed.

All the carvings in Figs. 166–168 are made from different kinds of wood. In spite of the crudeness of the work, the absence of detail, and the lack of proportion in the parts of the bodies, the figures reveal the attempts

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

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of the artist to make the position and the curves of the body correspond with the movements expressed in the figure.

Figs. 169 and 170 represent carvings from walrus-ivory. With the exception of Fig. 170, *a*, made at Opuka, all the other figures were carved in Paren and Kuel. The details of these carvings alone put them above the wood-carvings of the same villages. To a considerable extent this feature depends on the quality of the material; but, aside from that, the carvers of these figures were the best masters of the art to be found on the shores of Penshina Bay. The idea of representing people in motion — singing, dancing, and beating the drum in different fantastic postures — must be called bold for a primitive sculptor.

Fig. 168 ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}\frac{8}{2}$). Wood-Carving representing Drummer. From Mikino. Height, 10.5 cm.

The Koryak sculptor has no model to copy from. In his creative art he must reproduce from memory exclusively, without the aid of the accessories of modern artists, the real forms impressed upon his mind. As yet he is unable to reproduce the details, or to finish the parts of the body in the carved figures, true to nature. The figures themselves represent a more or less vague sketch of the artist's idea. All the little figures of dancing shamans in Figs. 169 and 170 resemble very much the unfinished work of a modern sculptor, in which the posture is well defined, the proportion of the parts is preserved, and a certain animation is to be seen. As little finished as are the faces of the dancing shamans, one can read the expression of ecstasy in some of them, as in Fig. 169, *b* and *d*. In all these specimens the muscles of the back and the neck are much better modelled than those of the chest and of the limbs. In most of them the details on the limbs are entirely wanting. In the specimen shown in Fig. 169, *d*, an attempt is made to model the chest too. On all the drums the cross-strings forming the handle are indicated on the inner side. On some of them the cords are undercut, so that they are similar to the cords made of nettle-threads, of the actual drums, although thicker. In others they are simply indicated by bars extending across the drum, which are not separated from the flat surface indicating the inner side of the drum-head. In all these specimens the drum and the drum-stick are connected by sinew or skin string. The iron rattles on the drum[1] are not indicated.

[1] See Part I, Fig. 19, p. 55.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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It should be noted that most of the carvings in Figs. 169 and 170 are made without mountings; and, in order to give them stability, the artist had to guess at the position of the centre of gravity. The drum, which is heavy as compared with the figure of the man, is designed to shift the centre of gravity to the fore part of the figure. All the drums held by the men in Fig. 169 and in Fig. 170 *b*, and the drum-sticks belonging to them, are carved

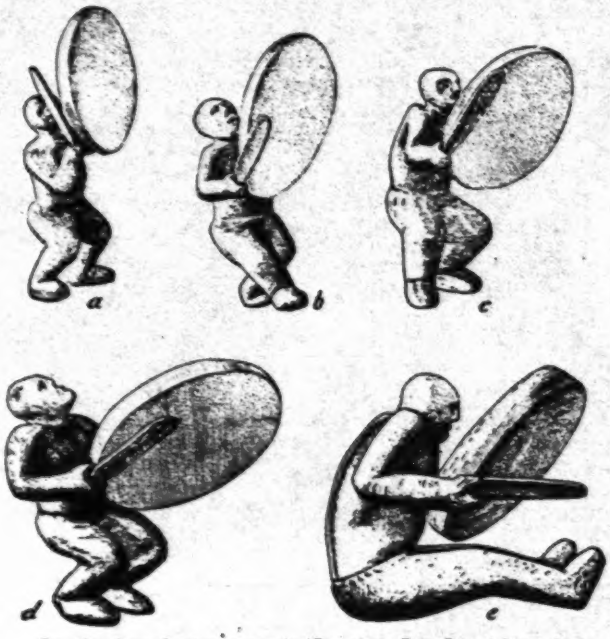

Fig. 169. Ivory Carvings representing Drummers. From Paren. ½ nat. size.
a (11₁), *b* (11₂), *c* (11₃), *d* (11₄), *e* (11₇).

separately from the human figure, and inserted in notches in the hands, the fingers being left entirely unfinished. On the contrary, the carving shown in Fig. 170, *a*, representing a dancer with a drum and a drum-stick, is wrought from one piece of walrus-tusk, including the base. This figure was made on the river Opuka. Its extremities are finished better than those in the preceding figures, and the hands have carved fingers as well. The drum-stick is too large as compared with the drum; but this license was taken to give support to the drum. It should be noted that not all the figures show the upper edge of the trousers, although it is supposed that the men are stripped only to the belt.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

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The carvings represented in Fig. 170 differ from the preceding in that more care is bestowed on the representation of the head. While all the preceding figures have no hair and no ears, we find here the characteristic hair-dress of the Koryak shown. The middle of the head is shaved, and the ring of hair is indicated by an ivory ring with hachure. In Fig. 170, *b*, the ears are also represented. While in the first of these two specimens the lively motion and the characteristic pose of the head deserve particular praise, as also the attempt to represent the hand holding the drum and the rattles attached to the drum, the figure shown in *b* is very disproportionate. It is, however, the only one of this group in which the muscles of the arm are represented with any detail. The left profile of the man is particularly good. On the left side the folds in the skin of abdomen and chest, brought about by the forward inclination of the body, are also represented remarkably well. On the drum all the attachments are represented in detail.

a *b*

Fig. 170, *a* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$). Ivory Carvings representing Drummers. Height, 5 cm., 12 cm. *a*, From Opuka River; *b*, From Kusl.

Fig. 171 shows two men producing fire with the bow-drill. The execution of these figures is similar to that of the figures shown in Fig. 169.

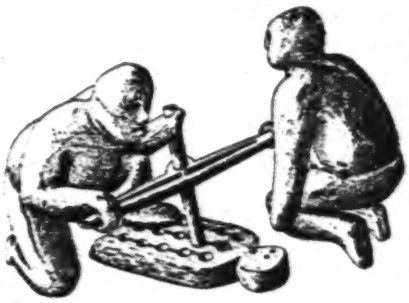

Fig. 171 ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$). Ivory Group representing the Drilling of Fire. From Paren. Height, 7 cm.

A still higher technique and greater artistic merit are to be found in the figure of a man on a base, holding a drum, which was obtained by Mr. Bogoras on the shore of Bering Sea (Fig. 172, *a*). It is carved from walrus-tusk. The plastic curves of the back and the tense muscles of back and sides are rendered with anatomical accuracy and realistic vividness. The chest is flat, and the muscles are not indicated. This may be due to the difficulty of reaching the chest. The surface of the chest is rough, while the whole rest of the figure has a high polish. The head is executed in great detail: and the cut of the eyes, and the form of the cheek-

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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bones, are quite characteristic of the Siberian type. The same vivacity, though less artistic execution, marks Fig. 172, *b*, which represents a man who has caught by the antlers a young reindeer which is trying to pull back. In Fig. 172, *a* and *b*, the heads of the human figures are represented as having the hair cut in a circle, and tonsured in the middle.

a *b*

Fig. 172. Ivory Carvings. *a* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$). Drummer (height, 6 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$). Man and Reindeer (height, 4.5 cm.).

Fig. 173, a human figure in sitting posture, made from wood in the settlement of Big Itkana, represents the captain of an American whaling-schooner who goes to Penshina Bay nearly every summer. The figure is painted black. This figure is marked by the absence of any artistic merit like the other wood-carvings of the Koryak of Penshina Bay; but it is interesting to note that the figure is given a droll aspect with the hat pulled over the eyes, the buttoned-up coat, and the hands thrust into the pockets. Similarly we find in the Chukchee collections of carvings of the Ethnographical Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg a human figure — judging by the cap, an American or Russian, — in a comic and rather indecent posture.[1]

Fig. 173 ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$). Wood-Carving representing Captain of a Whaling-Vessel. From Itkana. Height, 9 cm.

Among the walrus-tusk carvings from the shores of Bering Sea, representing human beings, we found also specimens without any artistic value, as is shown by Fig. 174, *a*, *b*. These two crude carvings, — with arms indicated, but not separated from the rest of the body, — although obtained by me in the settlement of Kuel (Penshina Bay), had their origin on the Opuka River (Bering Sea).

Fig. 174, *a*, represents a woman in a sitting position, with a child on her lap. The hole in the lower part of the figure shows that it is intended

[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXI, Fig. 12.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

532 517 321 to be carried on a strap, and to serve as a toy, not as a specimen of real art. This explains why the figure has no finish. The face of this figure is perfectly flat.[1] Fig. 174, *b*, also appears to represent a woman. The occurrence of engraved and etched concentric and single circles, dots, and lines, which are common ornaments on the animals carved from ivory by the western Eskimo, are to be noted on this figure, and also the suggestion of an Eskimo woman's jacket, with its characteristic hood and front flap. On the back the row of circles with dots is continued by two more circles on each side, leaving the middle of the back, just over the legs, undecorated. Over this row is another horizontal row of five circles with dots, which extend over the back from arm to arm. The collar-like shoulder-part is continued over the back with a slight curve downward. The space between the double line, which is continued from the front over the shoulders, and the sharp lower edge of the garment, is occupied by a line of seven black dots which slant a little upward from left to right. On the middle of the hood at the back are two circles with dots, — one over the other, — and a number of vertical lines of dots which curve forward at their lower ends. This figure probably represents an Eskimo woman, or it may have been made by an Eskimo artist.

Fig. 174. Ivory Carvings. *a* (2/3). Woman and Child (height, 2.5 cm.); *b* (2/3). Woman in Fur Dress (height, 6.5 cm.).

In connection with the various Koryak carvings, the wooden figures of men should be mentioned, made without any artistic finish, with their extremities on pivots, like mechanical dolls. These figures serve as toys for children, and are to be found also among the Chukchee.[2]

532 778 517 At a previous place I called attention to the crudeness of the images and the conventionality of the figures of idols and amulets.[3] Compared with the carvings of the Koryak of the coast of Bering Sea, the images of their anthropomorphic "guardians" appear like the products of a backward tribe.[4] In connection with this question, I advance the hypothesis that the cause of the crudeness of religious carvings lies in the vague conception of the artist as to the appearance of the invisible anthropomorphic beings. Between the

[1] Compare Part I. Fig. 56, p. 114.

[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXI, Fig. 7.

[3] See Part I. p. 115.

[4] In a note published in C. Lumholtz's Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians, Professor Boas discusses the crudeness of amulets and other sacred objects, as compared to the elaborate finish of objects of art. He calls attention to this phenomenon among the Huichol Indians, the Gold, the Gilyak, and other tribes (see Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. III, p. 287).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

two classes of carvings, the religious and the realistic, there are, of course, intermediate stages, especially in carvings that serve practical purposes; but, in so far as realistic sculpture aims to afford pleasure, it has a development independent of religion: its only source is in the æsthetic need of man.

Of course, all our wants, both material and spiritual, influence each other to a certain extent. So religious ideas have almost always influenced the character of art, and the influence has generally been detrimental.[1] I even go so far as to think that the symbolic tendency in the plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast is also due, to a certain extent, to religious ideas. The symbolism of these Indians in sculpture is a perversion of true realistic art. The high technique displayed by Indian artists in their carvings of masks, helmets, and other articles, clearly proves that realistic representations of animals are not beyond their power.[2]

Professor Boas explains the symbolic tendency of the Northwestern Indians by the dependence of the art of sculpture on the material, — that is, that, since it serves for decorative purposes, the subject to be represented is more or less subordinate to the object on which it is shown,[3] — but it is quite possible that the symbolism of the carvings made in connection with totem-posts was due to a vague conception, on the part of the artists, of the totem ancestors, whom they imagined now as real animals, and now in anthropomorphic form. The only features which are essential, therefore, for the recognition of the ancestor, are those that are most characteristic of his animal state, at the expense of the secondary features. The application to the human face, of the characteristic features of the head of the animal which serves as a totem, may be explained in the same way.

Carvings representing Animals. — In the archæologic remains of the stone age of the Old and New Worlds we find, among works of primitive art, representations mainly of human figures, and very few of animals. In the miniature sculpture of the Eskimo, principally made of ivory, we see, on the contrary, a tendency to reproduce mostly animal forms; but in the Chukchee and Koryak carvings we find, side by side with animal forms, also those of human beings.

Carvings of human beings have been described in the preceding pages. I shall now take up specimens of carvings of animals. Here I must repeat what I have already said, that the carvings of animals among the Koryak and Chukchee are much less frequently adapted to definite purposes than they

[1] Taking our illustrations from the history of the sculpture of civilised nations, we see, that, among the Greeks, religious ideas corresponded with the requirements of realistic art; Buddhism, and to a certain extent Christianity, introduced a great deal of conventionalism into sculpture; while the Semitic religion entirely suppressed this branch of art.

[2] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

[3] Ibid., pp. 123–176.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 517 are among the Eskimo. Among the Koryak, as well as among the Chukchee, real artistic carvings of animals have for their object solely the satisfaction of the artistic taste. I had opportunities to see how carvings brought to the settlements along Penshina Bay from the shores of Bering Sea were preserved in the work-bags of the women, who would frequently take them out only to look at them. To what extent the artistic instinct is developed among the Koryak may be judged from the fact that they easily recognized drawings and pictures in the books which I showed them, and always recognized the photographs of their friends. On the contrary, the northern Yakut, the Tungus, and even the Yukaghir, frequently failed to recognize photographs

Fig. 175. Ivory Carvings representing Animals. *a*, *b*, *c*, *f*, From Opuka; *c*, *d*, From Poqaĉ. *a* ($\frac{3}{2}\frac{5}{3}\frac{1}{2}$), Group of Sea-Lions (height, 3 cm.); *b* ($\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{3}$), Bear carrying a Fish (height, 4 cm.); *c* ($\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{3}$), Hare: *d* ($\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{3}$), Sea-Lion (height, 4.2 cm.); *e* ($\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{3}$), Young Mountain-Sheep (height, 3.7 cm.); *f* ($\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{3}$), Mountain-Sheep (height, 5 cm.).

which I took of their friends. Some of them even failed to recognize that the photographs represented human faces.

Specimens of Koryak carvings representing animals are shown here in Figs. 175–179. Those represented in Fig. 175 were obtained by me among the Maritime Koryak on Penshina Bay, but were made originally by the in- 136 habitants of the coast of Bering Sea. All are carvings from walrus-tusk. That shown in *a* represents a group of four sea-lions (*Eumetopias Stelleri* Peters) on an ice-floe; *b*, a black bear (*Ursus arctos* L.) with a fish in its mouth; *c*, a white hare (*Lepus variabilis* Pall.) in a sitting posture; *d*, a sea-lion (*Eumetopias Stelleri*); *e*, a mountain-lamb; and *f*, a mountain-sheep (*Ovis nivicola* Eschholtz).

As I said before, in speaking of Koryak carvings in general, the feet of

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the animals are imperfectly made, although these carvings represent the work of the best artists. It should be said, however, that the unmounted animal carvings could not stand if the feet were made properly. To give them greater stability, the feet of the two sheep (*e*, *f*) are not entirely separated. On the other hand, the flippers of the sea-lions on the ice-floe, which serves as a stand (*a*), are finished very vividly as compared with those of the single sea-lion without stand (*d*). On the whole, however, the position and the motion of the animals of the carvings are rendered with such realism as to call forth vividly its picture in the mind of the spectator, and they testify to the great skill and æsthetic taste of the artist.

In comparison with these specimens, the carvings of Chukchee artists are of far inferior artistic merit.[1] Even more inferior than these specimens are the Eskimo carvings of animals made at different places, and obtained by different collectors, although the nature of the Eskimo carvings, and the method of working them, are exactly the same as those of the Chukchee and Koryak.[2]

Among the Koryak carvings we do not find, for reasons which are perfectly apparent, any figures of the polar bear; but we do find them among the Chukchee;[3] and it is remarkable that the Chukchee carvings of this animal, judging from the specimens reproduced by Bogoras, are distinguished by the same artistic faults as those made by the Eskimo. Without explicit description, it is difficult to recognize the polar bear in the Eskimo carvings intended to represent that animal.

The walrus and seal are very vividly reproduced in Koryak carvings; but the figures of whales are lifeless, and resemble very much the Eskimo carvings of whales (compare, for instance, the wooden whale in Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72, with the Eskimo figures of whales).[4] However, the whale reproduced on p. 72 is made for a religious ceremony; and carvings made for religious purposes are, as I have said, inferior to those made for æsthetic purposes. This becomes especially clear when comparing, for instance, the realistic figure of a bear in the carving in Fig. 175, *b*, with the crude wooden bear made for a festival on the occasion of a bear-hunt.[5] Artistic carvings are produced only by men endowed with special skill and with a leaning towards art, while religious carvings are made by any Koryak.

Fig. 176 represents fishes, a worm, and a grasshopper. Three of these (*a*, *d*, and *e*) are made from walrus-tusk, one (*b*) from mammoth-ivory, one (*c*)

[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XIX en dash XXI.

[2] Compare Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate IX, opp. p. 653; Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 113. See also Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, pp. 398–401; Nelson, The Eskimo about Bering Strait, pp. 345, 346; E. Bessels, Die amerikanische Nordpol-Expedition, p. 108.

[3] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XX, Fig. 4.

[4] See Murdoch, p. 403, Fig. 407; Boas, Central Eskimo, Plate VIII, opp. p. 652.

[5] See Part I, Fig. 39, p. 88.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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from bone of whale. All of these carvings were made on the shore of Bering Sea. The one shown in *d* is especially vivid. Fig. 176, *a*, judging by the fin on the back, near the tail (evidently the adipose fin) represents a fish of the family *Salmonoidæ*, probably *Salmo lagocephalus*. The fish is ornamented with engraved dots and lines painted black, similar to the etchings of the Eskimo, especially those of Alaska; but they are made with more idea of symmetry. We find similar ornamentations in the carvings of the Kerek and Chukchee. Fig. 176, *c*, represents a flounder. The tail and the fins are

Fig. 176. Ivory and Bone Carvings representing animals. *a* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{6}$), Salmon (length, 6.6 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{6}$), Fish (length, 5.6 cm.); *c* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$), Flounder (length, 3.5 cm.); *d* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$), Caterpillar (length, 4.7 cm.); *e* ($\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{8}$), Grasshopper (length, 4.2 cm.).

indicated by small engraved lines; and the entire body is covered with dots on the front, while on the back the ornamentation consists of a herring-bone pattern running from head to tail. An exactly similar flounder is contained among the Koryak carvings of the Museum of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, where there is also to be found another specimen without dots.[1] A similar figure of a flounder with dots is in the Eskimo collection of E. W. Nelson, made in Alaska.[2]

Fig. 177 represents carvings of birds. All of them were made near Bering Sea, and *a* and *c* are carved from walrus-tusk; *b*, from mammoth-ivory. Fig. 177, *a*, represents a sea-bird, probably a cormorant. The neck and head of the bird are life-like, but the wings are not indicated; and there are no feet, the bird being represented as sitting on the water. As a rule, the common way in which the Koryak represent birds in their carvings is to make them appear in a floating or sitting position, so as to avoid the necessity of making the feet: another way is to represent them soaring with outstretched wings. Little figures of birds are carved by children from various materials. Near Penshina Bay they are made from reindeer-antler and mountain-sheep horn, also from birch-wood or roots of the stone-pine.

In the Koryak collection of the American Museum of Natural History there are a large number of small carvings of water-birds, birds of prey, and

[1] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXII, Figs. 15, 16.
[2] See Hoffman, The Graphic Art of the Eskimo, Plate LVII, Fig. 1.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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others. There are also wooden partridges with well-defined wings. Some of the carvings representing birds are ornamented with black dots, like some Eskimo carvings of birds.[1] Turner mentions a collection of carvings of water-birds made from ivory by the Eskimo of Hudson Bay, mainly identical in type with the similar carvings of the Koryak and Chukchee, but not ornamented with incised designs.[2]

According to Professor Boas, the Central Eskimo use carvings — some representing birds, others men or women — in a game similar to dice, which

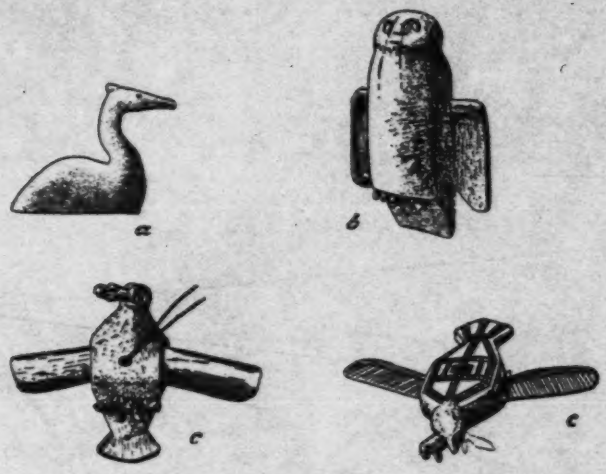

Fig. 177. Ivory Carvings representing Birds. *a* ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$), Swimming Cormorant (height, 3 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$), Hawk (height, 7 cm.); *c* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{2}$), Eagle with Movable Wings (height, 5 cm.).

they call "images of birds."[3] Murdoch obtained a collection of carvings representing birds and a wolf from the Asiatic Eskimo at Plover Bay. The carvings were supposed to be merely works of art, but Murdoch admits that the Asiatic Eskimo also use them for games.[4] Turner, on the other hand, remarks about his collection of ivory carvings representing birds made by the Labrador Eskimo, that he never heard of their being used in games.[2] Nor have I ever heard of the Koryak using bird carvings in games.

The nature of the carvings in Fig. 177, *b*, *c*, makes them less realistic than the miniature carvings representing birds. The introduction of claws as a substitute for feet seems to me to be the first step in the process of con-

[1] See Boas, Central Eskimo, Fig. 522, p. 567; Nelson, Fig. 125, p. 342; Murdoch, Fig. 364, p. 365.
[2] See Turner, The Hudson Bay Eskimo, Fig. 83, p. 260.
[3] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, Fig. 522, p. 567.
[4] See Murdoch, p. 365.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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ventionalization of the plastic art, which developed among the Indians of the North Pacific coast. Moreover, the tail, wings, and body in Fig. 177, *b*, representing a mouse-hawk, are much inferior in their realism and artistic finish to most of the Koryak carvings. Fig. 177, *c*, represents an eagle with a fish in its talons, and in the beak a little animal, the hind part of which is broken off. This figure served as a mechanical toy; it has detachable wings, which are made to move by means of a thread. This made it difficult for the artist to observe realism in making his figure. The upper side of the figure is ornamented by etched designs: the wings, by lines indicating feathers; and the back and tail, by dots and squares, — the conventional way of representing the body and tail of a bird.

Fig. 178 represents carvings which differ in material, and were made in different places. The one in *a* was made in the settlement of Shestakovo

Fig. 178. *a* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$), Wood-Carving representing a Dog (height, 7 cm.): *b* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$), Carving made of Antler, representing Wrestling Bears (height, 3 cm.): *c* ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{3}$), Carving in Mountain-Sheep Horn, representing Sheep and Hunter (length, 7.3 cm.): *d* ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{2}{3}$), Ivory Carving representing Walrus (height, 4.5 cm.).

(Penshina Bay), from wood, and the work is well done. The tense posture of the dog in harness, with tail curved upward in expectation of the start, is quite vivid, but the rigid feet are not well executed. The dog is painted black. The carving marked *b*, a pair of wrestling bears, was made in Paren (Penshina Bay), from reindeer-antler. Wrestling bears are a favorite subject among Koryak artists, but near Bering Sea they are carved from walrus-tusk with greater skill. In our collection there are two bears in the act of coition, made from wood, and carved with great realism. The specimen shown in *c* was made from mountain-sheep horn, in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay). On a

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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common mounting we have two mountain-sheep pursued by a dog and a man. The latter figure has its head broken off. Its feet display motion, but this cannot be said of the other figures in the group. In *d* is represented a walrus in sitting position, made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk. Although the upper part of the body is very realistic, the carvings made from walrus-tusk along Bering Sea are generally more artistic. This specimen is of interest in that it is ornamented with dots in Eskimo fashion. Such ornamentation is very seldom found on the carvings from the coast of Penshina Bay.

Specimens of carvings of animal groups and hunting-scenes have been shown in Fig. 175 *a* and Fig. 178 *c*. Figs. 179 and 180 represent specimens of small carvings of more complex groups, which do not serve any practical purpose, and must therefore be classed with art pure and simple. The most interesting feature of these carved groups is the absence of bas-relief. The mounting serves simply as a base for the group, which is carved out of one piece with the former; or the groups form high-reliefs (Fig. 179, *b*). However, I have also seen bas-relief carvings in which the figures were raised less than half their height above the base. Among these carvings, certain groups represent some household or hunting scene; others, as in Fig. 179, *a*, a free combination of several scenes having nothing in common. This specimen represents on one side a man aiming his gun at a bear; on the other side, a man getting into a hand-to-hand fight with a bear; and in the middle, a rock with a bird sitting on it. This group is carved from walrus-tusk, and was obtained by me in Paren (Penshina Bay), but was made at Poqa'č (Bering Sea). The high-relief carving shown in *b* comes from the settlement of Levatı (Penshina Bay), and is made from stone-pine. On the right hand is shown a whale pursued by hunters in a skin boat. The edge of the boat was broken off accidentally in working the brittle wood with a knife. The form of the boat, the prow being narrower than the stern, shows that it is of the type of the upper part of Penshina Bay. On the left side is shown a ground-seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) on an ice-floe, and two hunters stealthily approaching, — one in a skin boat, and the other in a dug-out. The hunters have hunting-hoods on their heads, which make

Fig. 179. *a* (1/11½). *b* (1/11½). Ivory and Wood Carvings representing Hunting-Scenes. Length, 14 cm., 20.5 cm.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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them resemble the heads of seals. The carvings do not show any oars, either in the large skin boat or in the small boat. The middle of the high-relief carving represents a bear approaching a ringed-seal (*Phoca hispida*), which was evidently left on the ground by the receding tide.

Fig. 180, *a*, represents a large skin boat with oarsmen, and is carved from walrus-tusk. It was obtained in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina

a *b*

Fig. 180. Ivory Carvings. *a* ($\frac{2}{3}$), Boat (length, 8 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{1}$), Walrus and Hunters (length, 9.5 cm.).

Bay). According to the Koryak, it was made in that settlement; but it is very strange that the shape of the boat, the prow being wider than the stern, should resemble the Koryak skin boat of Bering Sea. This is shown by the position of the man at the stern and the four oarsmen sitting with their faces toward the stern. A child is shown sitting in the bottom of the boat, near the stern. Fig. 180, *b*, is a carving made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk, and represents an ice-floe with six walrus on it, and two hunters close by, their guns resting on supports and levelled. The seal-skin boat of the hunters, with the broad prow of the Bering Sea type, is also on the ice-floe.

Fig. 181 shows a carving of walrus-tusk from Paren (Penshina Bay), and represents a sledge drawn by six dogs, with the driver and his whip, the

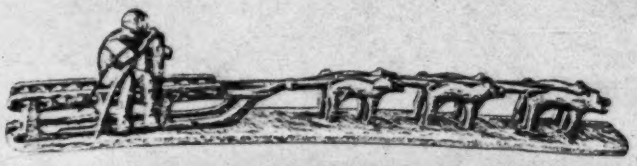

Fig. 181 ($\frac{1}{1}$). Ivory Carving representing a Dog-Sledge. Length, 21.5 cm.

latter serving as a brake. The sledge, dog, harness, and base are all carved from one piece, while the driver and his whip are carved separately. It is interesting to compare the driver of this sledge with an Eskimo figure (made of ivory)[1] from Point Barrow, representing a man in sitting position. Both carvings are very much alike.

Fig. 182, carved from walrus-tusk at Paren (Penshina Bay), is a specimen

[1] See Murdoch, The Point Barrow Eskimo, Fig. 394, p. 396.

. 1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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of architectural carving, and represents a dwelling of the Maritime Koryak before it is covered with earth.[1] On the roof is seen a man coming up the ladder through the opening. One of the poles is mounted with the head of a sacrificial dog, and next to it is the spear with which the dog was stabbed.

Fig. 183 represents a model of a dog-sledge with a ten-dog team and the driver. This model was made by a Russo-Koryak half-breed by the name of Fletcher. He was born in the Russianized Koryak settlement Yamsk,[2] and is now engaged in trading at Gishiginsk. He owes his American name to the fact that when his father or grandfather was baptized, a Russianized American who had settled at Tighil in Kamchatka acted as his godfather.

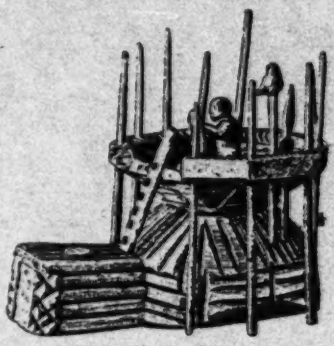

Fig. 182 ($\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{17}}$). Ivory Carving representing a House. Height, 11 cm.

The skilfully finished model of the sledge is made of birch-wood; and the dogs, of stone-pine. The way the dog-carvings are finished reveals an artistic talent of high order. The artist has not only put life and motion into the wood-carvings, but has skilfully rendered the different postures of the dogs as determined by the temper of each animal, the phase of its motion, or other factors. Thus the forward pair of dogs are made with tails hanging down. Being the leaders, they are intent upon following the trail pointed out by the driver by shouts,[3] to which the dogs are listening. The drooping tails indicate fatigue or intense strain on the part of the dogs. The hindmost pair of dogs are also characteristic. Usually the lazy dogs are put next to the sledge, so that they can be more

Fig. 183 ($\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{17}}$). Wood-Carving representing a Dog-Sledge. Length, 70 cm.

easily reached by the whip. One of the dogs in the last pair, fearing the whip, is pulling very conscientiously, as is shown by its lowered head. The other dog is turning its head on the run towards the driver, to make sure that he is not harboring any evil designs against it.

Of course, this carving cannot be considered as primitive Koryak. Fletcher, being able to read, had seen specimens of art of civilized nations in the

[1] For a description of dwellings see pp. 453–461. [2] See p. 436. [3] See p. 505.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Koryak Koryak

drawings of illustrated magazines, which may have influenced him; but his skill and his native artistic instinct were inherited by him from Koryak ancestors.

In explanation of Fig. 183, I should add that the dog-harnesses, central line, and the lashings of the sledge, were made by Fletcher of leather. For the figure of the driver he made a wooden head with a face showing very well the Koryak type. The figure is dressed like other Koryak dolls.

Household Articles ornamented with Carved Figures. — I have stated before that carvings were less frequently of practical use among the Koryak than among the Eskimo. Nevertheless small household articles ornamented with carved figures of men and animals, such as we find among the Eskimo, are also to be found among them. Figs. 184 and 185 are reproductions of such articles.

Fig. 184, *a*, is a dipper made from alder-wood in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina Bay). The handle of the dipper shows a carving representing

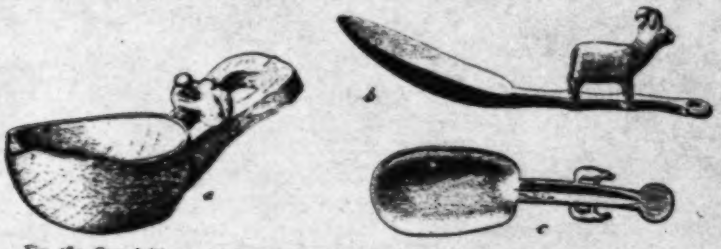

Fig. 184. Carved Dipper and Spoons. *a* ($\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{1}$). Dipper with Carving representing Wrestlers (length, 16.5 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}$). Spoon with Carving representing Mountain-Goat (length, 25 cm.); *c* ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{1}$), Spoon with Carving representing Two Bears (length, 14.5 cm.).

two wrestlers. Only the upper parts of the bodies are shown. Fig. 184, *b*, represents a spoon made on the shores of Bering Sea, from the horn of mountain-sheep. Fig. 184, *c*, was made from mountain-sheep horn in Alutor (Bering Sea). The handle is ornamented with carvings representing two bears.

Among small articles ornamented with carved animals, our collection contains also belt-clasps with the figures of two seals, and a pipe with the figure of a seal, made from walrus-tusk in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay).

Fig. 185 is also a reproduction of specimens of carvings made for ornamental purposes. That marked *a* represents a snow-beater made from antler of wild reindeer by a Reindeer Koryak of the Opuka River, and is ornamented with a carved head of a mountain-sheep; *b* represents an awl used by women in ornamenting their dress with slit-embroidery.[1] The handle of the awl was carved from wood in Big Itkana (Penshina Bay), and the orna-

[1] See p. 679.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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mentation represents a sledge with a team of eight dogs. Apparently the whole handle represents at the same time a bear, the point being the snout, the ears being indicated just under the sledge, and the two prominences on the lower side representing fore and hind feet. It resembles in form the bear figures used by the Eskimo in the cup-and-ball game.[1] The specimen shown in *c* is a pipe made of bone in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay), and very crudely ornamented with the carving of a human face.

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The Koryak carvings of animals on household articles follow the rule

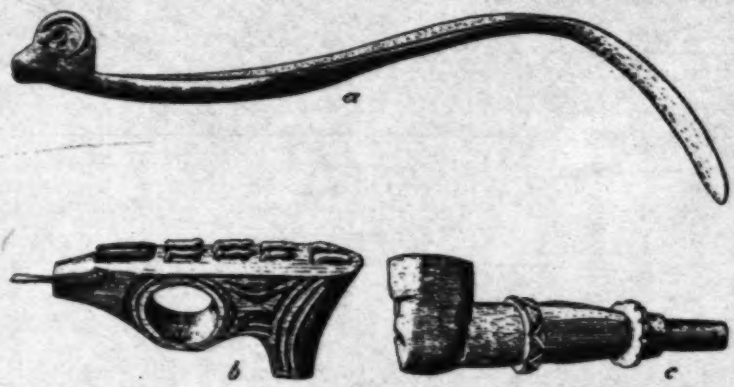

Fig. 185, *a* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$), Snow-Beater (length, 52 cm.); *b* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$), Awl (length, 11 cm.); *c* ($\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$), Pipe (length, 12.5 cm.).

of modern ornamental carvings, — that of serving to embellish and brighten up the ornamented article without obscuring it. For that reason, ornamental carving may retain its realistic character of pure art. Among the Indians of the North Pacific coast we find a tendency to cover the entire article with an ornamental animal. It has been pointed out by Professor Boas[2] that this tendency has resulted in depriving carvings of their realism. Judging by some illustrations of objects in the work of Nelson,[3] this inclination prevails to a considerable extent also among the Alaskan Eskimo. Professor Boas ascribes this tendency of the Alaskan Eskimo to the influence of the art of the adjacent Indians. Perhaps a trace of this proneness to turn an ornamental animal into a real article, certainly its inception, is to be found among the Koryak and Eskimo of other localities, but in a most primitive form. Thus the wooden cup for the whale festival among the Koryak[4] represents that animal. In the Eskimo collections from Point Barrow we find a bone

[1] See Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 566.

[2] See Boas, The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

[3] See Nelson, Plates XLII, LXII, and Figs. 40, 59, pp 144, 200.

[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *A*, p. 72.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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ladle, and boxes for harpoon-heads, in the form of whales;[1] and among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay we find ivory needle-cases carved in the form of whales.[2]

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I believe that the æsthetic taste is as strong and spontaneous a longing of primitive man as are beliefs. Whoever has lived among primitive people knows well how strong is their passion for all kinds of ornaments. In one of his stories from the life of the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras pictures a hunch-back shepherd gathering variegated pebbles, and spending his leisure time in laying them out in different combinations for his own pleasure.[3] Mr. Bogoras told me personally that the incident was drawn from real life. Undoubtedly there are cases when an article which first served as an amulet becomes, in the course of time, an ornament; but there are cases, on the other hand, when an article of art becomes an amulet later on. For that reason we must prove in each particular case the course of inter-action of the two psychological factors, — the religious and the æsthetic, — and this it is not always easy to settle. Taking, for instance, the wooden figure of the whale for the whale festival,[4] it is difficult to tell whether the whale-carving was first made from a mere desire on the part of the artist to imitate nature, or whether the necessities of the ritual furnished the impetus for carving the whale. Personally I am inclined to the former hypothesis. We find a similar phenomenon in the Eskimo custom of putting the carving of a whale into the mouth of a new-born male infant in order to make him a good hunter.[5]

In the Koryak carvings, and to a certain extent in those of the Eskimo, in so far as they are not adapted to practical wants, we have an excellent illustration of the spontaneous development of primitive art independent of religion. Those amulets which consist of wooden limbs or parts of animals, instead of the entire animal, cannot be classed with pure art, because they serve, not as expressions of real sense-impressions, but of vague ideas of anthropomorphism and the substitution of a part for a whole. This accounts for the crudeness of the images of Koryak idols, as pointed out by me before, which distinguishes them from carvings made for the pleasure of carving. Ornamental carving still retains in many cases the realism and the finesse of art for art's sake; such as, for instance, the mountain-sheep on the spoon illustrated in Fig. 184, *b*.

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Less attention is paid to finish and realism in the carving of toys. A large number of objects in miniature carving, used as toys, are very poorly executed. These objects can easily be recognized by the hole made in them, by means of which they can be strung on a thong. Children quite frequently

[1] See Murdoch, Fig. 45, p. 105; Fig. 251, p. 249. [2] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 136, p. 93.

[3] Tan-room-de-pinne of Mr. Bogoras, Sketches and Stories, Vol. III, Chukchee Stories (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 120.

[4] See Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72.

[5] See Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 160; Nelson, p. 290.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

carry whole bunches of such toy carvings so strung. Probably for the same purpose, many Eskimo carvings have holes in them. The workmanship of the walrus-bone carving in Fig. 174, *a*, representing a woman with a child, may be explained by the fact that it was meant for a toy.

Dolls. — In connection with the carvings which serve as toys, and are made by men, I will speak briefly of the dolls, which are made by women. They differ from carvings which represent human beings, first of all, by the fact that the main attention is paid to the dress of the toy, which is made by the women and girls very carefully and tastefully. In this respect the Koryak dolls are much like those of the Eskimo. Dolls representing women show underneath the coat the wide trousers of the combination-suit tucked into the boots; while the head has braids of hair, wool, or beads, attached on the side or at the back. Fig. 186, *a*, shows a doll representing a woman with braids, but the long coat conceals the wide trousers of the woman.

Fig. 186, *b* and *c*, shows two dolls representing Koryak men, — one in a travelling-coat, and the other

Fig. 186. *a* (⅛), *b* (⅛), *c* (⅛). Dolls. Height, 23 cm., 15.5 cm., 16 cm.

in a house-coat. No attention is paid to the face in making dolls. In *c* we find a particularly well carved and typical wooden face; but in *b* there is, instead of a head, a leather cone in the form of a sugar-loaf, with beads attached in the place of eyes. It is interesting to note that dolls are often made with conical heads in a way similar to that in which the Koryak and the Kamchadal represent a certain class of "guardians" and spirits.[1]

Even more primitive is the doll of the Reindeer Koryak shown in Fig. 187. It is made of the hoof of a new-born reindeer, and represents a girl with her hair dressed. This doll, by its conventionalism, fully corresponds to the wooden limbs representing "guardians."

1 See Part I, p. 38.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Fig. 188, *b*, represents the knife which Axa used in carving his chain; *a* shows the sheath of the knife. The artist uses nothing but the knife in his work. Other Koryak also use curved knives.[1] The polishing of the carved articles is done with soft reindeer-skin. Considering the shape and size of the rings of Axa's chain, one cannot help admiring the precision of eye and the sense of symmetry of this primitive turner.

Fantastic Carvings. — Among the Koryak animal carvings, some are

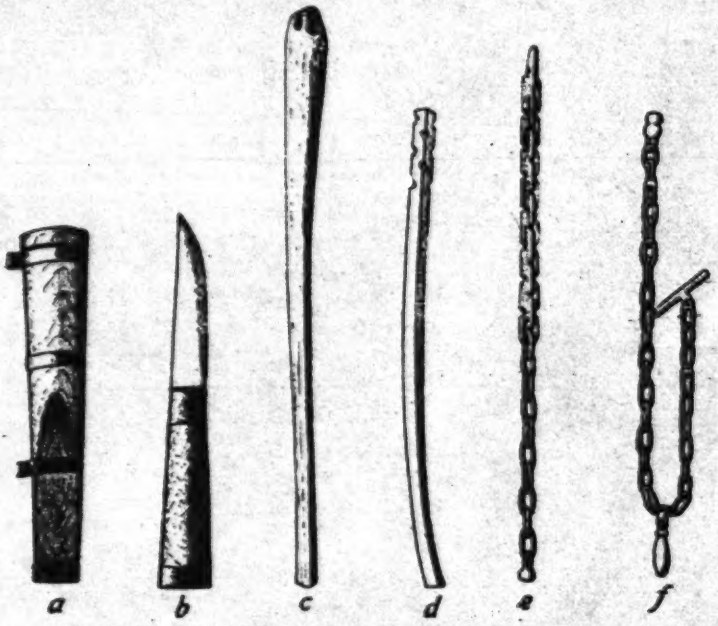

Fig. 188 ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$). Carving-Knife with Sheath, Ivory Chain in Process of Manufacture, and Completed Chain. $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

found with monstrous forms; for instance, in my collection there is a little figure of a partridge with two heads. The Koryak from whom I obtained this carving could give me no satisfactory explanation of it; and I do not know whether it was the product of the individual fancy of the artist, or whether it represents some mythical bird. Among the carvings of the Eskimo of Point Barrow, reproduced in Murdoch's work, we also find figures of animal monsters, among which there is an ivory carving of a ten-legged bear and a double-headed animal carved from antler.[2] Murdoch's illustration repre-

[1] See Fig. 144, *d*, p. 621.

[2] See Murdoch, Figs. 422, 424, 426, pp. 405–407.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RYY Koryak RY4

senting a giant holding a whale[1] recalls a Chukchee ivory carving in the collection of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, representing a human figure with three pairs of white whales on its breast.[2] This figure corresponds with the Chukchee myth of a giant who once came from the American shores to the Chukchee coast, where he went to sleep, and remained asleep all winter, while the white whales came out on the shore and gnawed at his flesh.[3]

ENGRAVINGS. — We have seen that the realistic animal carvings of the Koryak, like those of the Eskimo, are frequently ornamented by means of incised designs consisting of plain dots, rings, or lines; but we do not find any complex engravings of patterns or figures of pictographic character, such as are found on the carvings of the Alaskan Eskimo.

Fig. 189. *a* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{5}{3}$); Skin-Scraper with Ornamented Handle (length, 46 cm.); *b*, Knife with Incised Designs (length, 37.5 cm.).

In the collection of carvings in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, there are two bone pipes with engravings of diminutive figures of men and animals. These pipes were acquired among the Kerek, but had their origin among the insular Eskimo of Bering Sea.[4]

The tools and implements of the Koryak are mostly devoid of all ornamental engravings. The few ornamental engravings which are found on the tools and other household articles may be divided into the following classes, — the simplest, or Eskimo-like; the pictographic, or engravings resembling those of the northern Indians of the interior and the Alaskan Eskimo; and the conventionalized, adopted from Asia. Figs. 189–191 represent specimens of the first group of ornamental engravings.

Fig. 189, *a*, represents an iron skin-scraper. Its wooden handle is ornamented with lines and zigzags. It was obtained in Paren.[5] Fig. 189, *b*,

[1] Murdoch, Fig. 413, p. 406.
[2] Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XX, Fig. 5.
[3] Ibid., p. 57.
[4] Ibid., Plate XXV, Figs. 8, 9.
[5] A similar ornamentation is found on the Eskimo bone knife and bone skin-dresser in Hoffman's book, Plate XV, Fig. 3; and Plate XVIII, Fig. 2.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Figs. 193 and 194 represent specimens of engravings of a pictographic nature. Fig. 193 represents two women's knives.[1] Outlines of running reindeer are engraved on the blades by means of a steel awl. The outlines of the reindeer are somewhat inferior in vividness to the engravings of reindeer figures on ivory made by the Alaskan Eskimo; but allowance should be made for the material (iron) on which the Koryak artist engraved the reindeer. A middle line may be observed on the reindeer in *b*, which is absent in *a*, and consists of a series of minute vertical dashes. This line represents the spinal column.

Fig. 194 represents two cutting-boards[2] used by women in dress-making. The boards contain ornamental engravings on the under side. The patterns for dresses

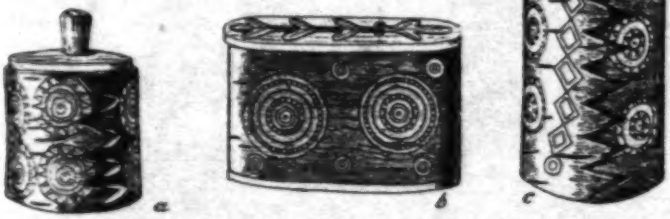

Fig. 192. *a* (⅓), *b* (⅓), *c* (⅓). Birch-Bark Boxes. Height, 6 cm., 7 cm., 14 cm.

are cut on the unornamented side. The boards are engraved by the men (the brothers or betrothed of the women to whom the boards belong), for amusement. The engravings consist of household and hunting-scenes; and the workmanship differs from that of most Eskimo engravings in that the figures of human beings and animals are not merely indicated by lines and by contours, but are cut out intaglio. Moreover, some parts of the figures are frequently made somewhat more prominent than others, after the manner of bas-reliefs, which makes the figure of the animal more vivid than ordinary engraved silhouettes.

Fig. 193. *a* (⅛), *b* (⅛). Knives with Incised Designs. Length, 26 cm., 29 cm.

Both specimens reproduced here were collected on the Palpal from Koryak living on the coast of Bering Sea: *a* was made on the Opuka River; *b*, on the Poqa'č River. In *a* is represented a scene from the life of fisher-

[1] See p. 621.

[2] See p. 627.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Koryak Koryak

532 men. The make-up is conventional, and there is lack of perspective. Thus on the left side we see a woman, who, in a kneeling position, is carving fish on the ground in order to dry it in the sun; farther to the right, what seems to be the figure of a man, holding a disembowelled fish and the severed head of the fish in his hands, is running toward the drying-frames in order to hang them up for drying; still farther to the right, a man is trying

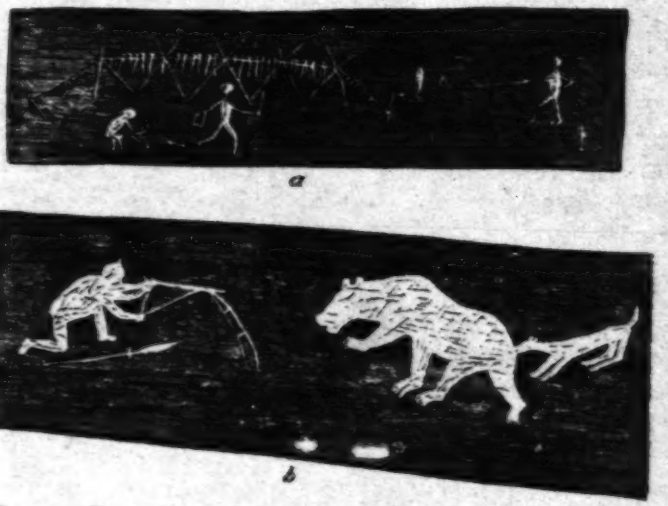

Fig. 194. *a* 'ɨlɨ', *b* 'ɨlɨ'. Cutting-Boards with Incised Designs. Length, 40 cm., 60 cm.

to catch a fish by means of a pole and hook. The boundary-line between the water and the shore does not appear. Evidently the river or the sea must be in the background, behind the man and the drying-frames. The lack of perspective does not appear so clearly in Fig. 194, *b*, for the reason that all the objects represented there are in one plane. It represents a hunter kneeling on one knee, with a flint gun, the butt of which is pressed against his shoulder, while the barrel rests on a wooden stand. He is aiming the gun at a bear, which is attacked in the rear by a dog. Although the figures are only silhouettes, the posture of the man and the motions of the animals are brought out with remarkable vividness. Moreover, the proportions between the different objects have been well observed. It is interesting to note here, that the specimen shown in Fig. 194, *b*, was made by a Reindeer Koryak of Poqa'č, a young man of twenty-five years, whom I have seen on the Palpal. This proves that among the Reindeer Koryak we also find men with a high artistic taste.

[517]

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Along the shores of Penshina Bay the ornamentations on cutting-boards frequently consist of figures of steamers or schooners which land from time to time at the settlement. These engravings resemble in every respect those of the Eskimo in their manner of representing schooners and steamers.[1]

Figs. 195 and 196 represent forms of engravings of foreign origin adopted from the Tungus and other neighbors. Fig. 195, *a–c*, represents

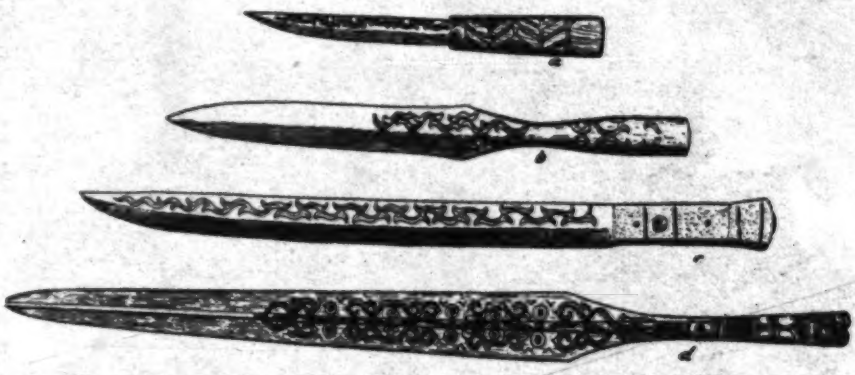

Fig. 195. Knives and Lance-Heads with Engraved Designs. *a* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$), Koryak Knife (length, 29 cm.); *b* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$), Koryak Lance-Head (length, 45 cm.); *c* ($\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$), Koryak Knife (length, 60 cm.); *d* ($\frac{7}{3}\frac{7}{1}\frac{7}{1}$), Lance-Head from the Amur River (length, 75 cm.).

specimens of workmanship of Koryak blacksmiths,[2] with ornaments engraved and with inlaid copper and brass. The art of the blacksmith being of recent origin among the Koryak, their decorations on articles of iron are adopted from other tribes. In my opinion, the ornamentations of the belt-knife (*a*), of the "large knife" (*c*),[3] and of the spear (*b*), shown in Fig. 195, came down to the Koryak from the Amur natives through the medium of the Tungus; and the Amur people, in their turn, adopted them from the Chinese. This ornamentation appears as a simplified conventionalization of the simple and combined cocks, which we see in the Amur spear (Fig. 195, *d*).[4] The ornamentation of the wooden handle of the knife *a*, which is inlaid with tin, is evidently adopted from the Yakut, among whom such knife-handles are often found; and the ornamentation represents, as I was told, in a conventional way, the larch-tree. The short handle of the large knife *c* is made of bone of whale.

The interior part of the ornament of the cutting-board (Fig. 196, *a*) is also of the Amur type. The middle of this board serves for winding embroi-

[1] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, Plate v, Fig. *f*; Hoffman, Figs 29–31, p. 797. Samples of Koryak cutting-boards with figures of steamers are in the Koryak collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

[2] See p. 611. [3] See pp. 561, 620.

[4] See Laufer, The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

294 dered trimmings used for dresses, fur strips for coat-trimming, and other
532 strips for dress-ornamentation. The combination of curved lines in this orna-
177 mental engraving is not of Koryak origin; but, instead of the spiral ornament of the Amur tribes, we have here a series of arches, the ends of which meet on one side. The rings with stars on the snuff-box (*c*), were adapted by the artist from a drawing on Russian printed calico. I shall speak more fully of such adaptations further on. It will suffice here to call attention to the perfection of the circles, and the sense of symmetry shown in the outlines of the stars, notwithstanding the fact that the Koryak artists, besides the point of the knife, have no instrument, such as a pair of dividers, for making curved lines.

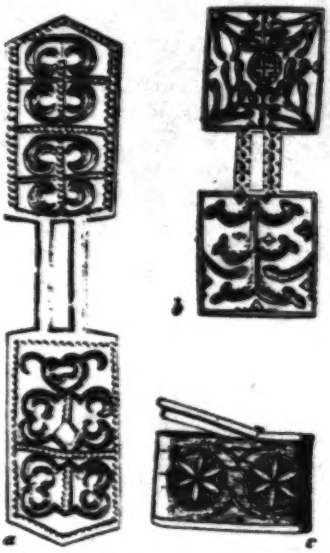

Fig. 196. *a* (1/11), *b* (1/11), Cutting-Boards (length, 43 cm., 21.5 cm.); *c* (1/11), Birch-Bark Box (height, 3.5 cm.).

I could get no explanations as to the fantastic ornamental engravings of Fig. 196, *b*, which are far from being symmetrical; but there is no doubt that we have to do here with mixed elements of primitive geometric ornamentation and conventional plant-forms, possibly the stone-pine.

531 294 Ornamentation of Dress. — In the ornamentation of clothing and fur rugs, we see a combination of different influences, similar to that which we observe in the case of engravings on cutting-boards, boxes, and implements. We find here both the most primitive ornaments — consisting of dots, dashes, and rings — and other geometrical patterns in the shape of triangles, rhombi, and squares. Further, there is a technical style of ornamentation, representing nettings, for instance; animal ornamentation, consisting of a realistic representation of individual animals and human beings, or of groups of them, of a pictographic nature; and, finally, there is the conventionalized plant-ornament. The last kind of ornamentation I consider the latest acquisition adopted from the Russians.

[462] While the carvings and engravings are the art of man, the ornamentation of clothing and rugs is the result of the artistic efforts of woman. The simplest dress-decoration consists in the binding of skin dresses with fur, or in the trimming of fur clothing with fur of a better kind than that of the clothing, or of a different color, and in the use of white, black, and red dyed skin, either with the hair removed or placed flesh side outward, the hair which is on the inside of the coat being shorn.

k:Jochelson F-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

517 covered with more or less realistic designs, while the decoration of ordinary
171 garments represents geometrical motives. I have stated that the same phenomenon occurs among the Yakut and Tungus in reference to the decoration of their shaman's and ordinary wearing-apparel. We see the reverse among the Koryak. Their funeral and dancing garments are covered with geometrical designs, and realistic designs are found only among the decorative motives of ordinary coats and on fur rugs.

532 In the ornamentation of funeral garments there is only one case of a figure resembling a starfish,[1] and another resembling a frog. An ancient
425 Chukchee quiver has embroidered figures resembling the Russian letter Ж,[2] which could be mistaken for a conventionalized frog. I point this out, because, in the Gilyak cult, the frog plays an important part, and its figure serves as an amulet.[3] In Yukaghir mythology the frog is mentioned,[4] but neither in the Koryak nor in the Chukchee myths do we meet with the frog.[5]

531 This may be the proper place to say a few words as to the part played by figures in the decorative art of the Koryak in general. If we are to assume that, in the case of all tribes, every ornament has, or had at one time, a certain meaning, then I must confess that I have not succeeded in finding the required explanations, either because the Koryak have forgotten the meaning of their ancient ornaments, or because the particular persons from whom I tried to obtain the explanations were not familiar with them, in which case the subject still remains to be investigated.

I was able to ascertain that all ornamental designs on dresses, as well as the tattooings, are called by the same name — ka'li or ke'le — as is used by the Koryak to designate, not only all kinds of drawings, but also the printing in books and Russian letters. Some Koryak said that simple, double, and concentric circles represent the sun, the moon, or the stars. I
[124] was told on one occasion that zigzags represent mountains; on another, that they represent waves. Cross-like figures are supposed to represent flying birds; but I was told that as a general rule the ornament had no special significance. Even the information as to zigzags I obtained only after insistent questioning, which may have stimulated the answer. The impression obtained by me was, that the persons interrogated were considering their replies while being questioned. For that reason, I do not attach special importance to their answers. It will be clearly apparent from what follows, that the women

[1] See woman's funeral overcoat, Part I, Fig. 51, p. 108.
[2] See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XI, Fig. 2.
[3] See Schrenck, III, p. 750.
[4] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials, p. 5.
[5] Mr. Sternberg has called my attention to the resemblance of some figures in the Koryak-Chukchee decorative art to Gilyak representations of the *frog*; but I have never seen a frog in the country of the Koryak. Neither Krasheninnikoff (I, p. 490) nor Dittmar (Reisen in Kamtschatka, p. 343) found it in Kamchatka. If the ornament in question really represents a frog, this pattern must have been adopted from the south. I should add, however, that, according to Slunin's assertions (see Slunin, I, p. 339), one species of frog has been found in Kamchatka.

1; Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

very much, in shape, Fig. 177, *a*. The outer row contains again the coarser checker-work of the same size as the inner row. Here a number of animal figures are inserted on dark fields. On the left-hand side on the lower border of the rug we find one man holding a drum, and another man apparently holding a club. On the left-hand side on the upper border we find a large and a small mountain-sheep on one field; while on the right-hand side there are a number of small figures set into one field, apparently representing a flying bird, a man, and two bears. It is worth remarking that these latter have their feet towards the left, the only case in which figures of animals inserted into rugs in this way do not stand upright. It should be mentioned, however, that the man in this figure does stand upright. 531

Another rug which illustrates the character of the symmetry which underlies the rug designs is illustrated in Fig. 242. Attention may be called to the occurrence of the triangular design in the upper border as compared with the square design in the lower border; to the continuation of the lateral strips downward; and to the finish on both sides by a series of broad rectangles having one additional row of small squares on each side. It will be seen from this that clearly the underlying thought is not that of a series of white crossing diagonals, but the maker had rather in mind the alternation of the larger rectangles, — one consisting of dark skin; the next, of a checker of nine dark and white squares. In this way the rug was made. The corner pieces are all made of a single piece, and some of the dark rectangles along the right and left border are also made of single pieces of skin.

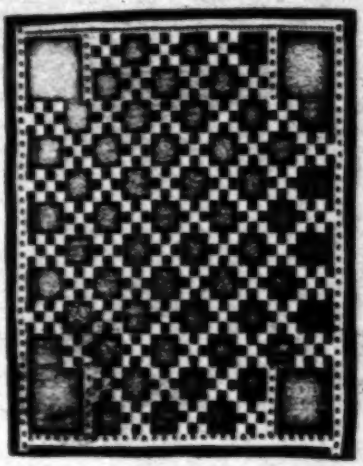

Fig. 242 ($\frac{1}{11}$). Fur Rag.

Drawings. — The Koryak use colors more often in decorative art than in articles of sculpture. Wood-carvings are frequently colored black, more seldom red or brown. Engravings on bone carvings are also filled with black paint, and on wooden masks[1] the beard is also indicated by means of black paint, while red ochre or blood is used to redden the cheeks of masks. I have spoken above[2] of the use of dyes in manufactured articles and in technical work; the decoration of skin dress by means of stamps has also been mentioned 532

[1] See Part I, pp. 83, 84.

[2] See p. 618.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

532 in this chapter. The art of drawing in colors realistic or conventionalized objects on leather or some other smooth surface, is unknown to the Koryak; but I have numerous collections of Koryak pencil drawings representing household or hunting scenes, and revealing the same power of observation, and ability to represent what they have seen, both on plain and round surfaces, but with the same faults of composition and the same lack of perspective as occur in engravings of men and in the decorative work of the women. The collections of drawings were made on paper with pencil by different Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, who drew at my request, and without any instruction or explanation on my part. The rapidity with which the Koryak, including the children, executed the drawings, showed that this was an art to which they were accustomed. In the method of reproduction of men and animals, they closely resemble the Indian pictographs and the engravings on bone of the Alaskan Eskimo. Some of these drawings, of a religious or mythical nature, have been reproduced in the first part of this volume.[1]

Fig. 243 represents a reindeer-race. Each of the sledges is drawn by a pair of reindeer, and the participants in the race sit astride the race-sledges. The

Fig. 243. Koryak Drawing representing a Reindeer-Race.

reindeer are represented from one point of view. Of course, there is neither linear nor space perspective: however, in order to overcome this fault, the left-hand reindeer is represented, not behind (i. e., covered by) the right one, but above it, — a device known not only to the Indians and Australians, but also to the ancient Egyptians. None of the artists drew the reindeer from two points of view, as they did the dogs.

Fig. 244. Koryak Drawing representing a Dog-Sledge.

Fig. 244 represents dog-driving. The interesting point about this drawing is the lack of regularity in composition. The dogs are drawn not only without reference to perspective, but from two points of view. The driver

[1] See Part I. Fig. 1, p. 28; Fig. 28, p. 69; Figs. 40, 41, p. 93; Fig. 57, p. 116; Fig. 58, p. 123.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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and his sledge (which, by the way, are too small in proportion to the dogs) and three dogs are represented from one point of view; and the other row of dogs, from another. It is interesting to note that this manner of drawing is not an individual characteristic, as I have similar drawings of dog-sleighs made by different artists. It is singular that one boy in Kamenskoye, seventeen years old, — the author of the map Fig. 251, — made a few drawings in which the dogs and reindeer, hitched to teams, are represented one behind the other, as they appear to the observer who stands on the side. In a few cases the fault of primitive drawings of representing solid objects as transparent is also avoided; and the right-hand animal covers the greater part of the left-hand one. In these cases I suspect that the boy was imitating a printed illustration which he had seen.

Fig. 245 represents a sheet on which the artist has drawn five separate subjects. That in *a* represents a hunter in a kayak stealing up to an ice-floe

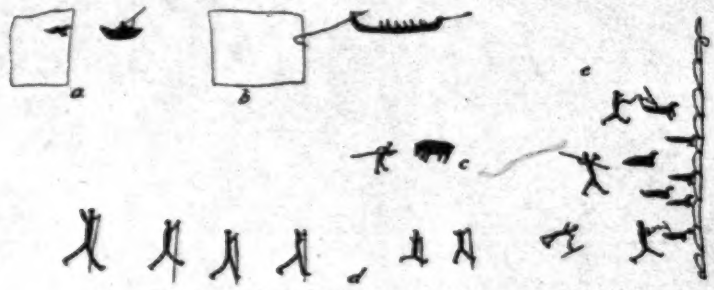

Fig. 245. Koryak Drawings. *a*, A Seal-Hunter; *b*, Hunters in a Skin Boat; *c*, Bear-Hunter; *d*, Foot-Race; *e*, Sealers.

on which there is a seal; *b* represents hunters in a large skin boat, who are pulling themselves up to an ice-floe by means of a hook; while engaged in this, the hunters have ceased to row. *c* represents a hunter about to attack a bear with a spear. *d* represents a foot-race, and here there seems to be a suggestion of linear perspective, since the figures of the runners become larger from right to left. *e* represents a group of hunters who are thrusting their harpoons at seals which they have come across on the beach at low tide; the seals are hastening to get back into the water. The line represents the edge of the water, and the zigzags indicate the waves on the beach. Here, as in the other drawings, we have, in the absence of perspective, the arrangement of one object above the other. One of the hunters is represented falling to the ground during the quick run.

Fig. 246 represents two subjects. In *a*, several hunters in kayaks are pursuing a seal on a shallow beach; the seal cannot dive, but glides along

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 on the water, disturbing its surface. In *b* we have a fisherman with a hand-net, standing in the water.

Fig. 247 represents three phases of the whale-hunt. In the first attack (*a*) the oarsmen are rowing with all their might to get near the spouting whale; the harpooneer, in the bow of the skin boat, being shown in the act of thrusting his harpoon. The second drawing (*b*) shows the whale struck by a

Fig. 246. Koryak Drawing. *a*, Sealers; *b*, Fisherman with Net.

harpoon and by a spear; but it is still dragging the boat and the hunters with great force, creating a current in the water. In the final situation (*c*) three skin boats, tied to one another by thong lines, are towing the captured whale.

Fig. 247. Koryak Drawing representing Whaling-Scenes.

It is interesting to note that the last boat is going stern forward, evidently in order to give the bow, by which the whale is towed, the proper direction.

I gave to an artist in Kamenskoye three pencils — black, red, and blue — to see how he would use the colors in his drawings. In most cases he used the colors correctly, following the colors of the objects which he represented. In illustrating the interior of the house, for instance, he drew the enamelled teakettle on the fire with the blue pencil, the flame with the red, and the smoke rising from the fire with the black pencil. Another of his drawings represented the carcass of a skinned sacrificial dog that had been left in the tundra, being torn by crows. The carcass was colored red, and with such fine shadings that the rounded muscles of the skinned animal could be seen. The crows were entirely black. In the figures of dogs he made their protruding tongues red, and in those of seals he made the eyes red. However, in some drawings he used the colors in a most fanciful manner.

A few words may be said as to drawings of religious and mythological

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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subjects. They do not in any way differ from ordinary drawings, specimens of which are reproduced here. They have the same defects, and are also realistic. Somewhat fanciful is a drawing of the spider-crab, representing the marine deity.[1] The drawings of circles around the heads of the Supreme Deity, his wife and son,[2] and the beams radiating from the heads of the first two, seem to be an imitation of the circles and rays representing the halos around the heads in orthodox icons, which the artist had no doubt seen in Russian houses on more than one occasion on his trips to Gishiginsk.

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Writing. — Although I found no pictographic letters on bark among the Koryak, — such as are found among the Yukaghir, and which serve with them as a means of communication between people at a distance, — yet the memoranda and commercial notes used by the Koryak traders are curious specimens of a primitive writing of a somewhat pictographic nature. The Koryak traders in Kamenskoye and in northern Kamchatka purchase from Russian merchants pencils and paper or memorandum-books, in which they score their purchases and sales, denoting the articles by means of realistic or conventionalized reproductions.

Figs. 248-250 represent three specimens of such records of Qači'lqut, a Koryak trader of Kamenskoye. Fig. 248 represents a record in his memorandum-book of goods received at a fair from the clerk of a Gishiginsk merchant with whom he keeps an open account. Fig. 249 is a copy of a letter containing a list of furs forwarded by Qači'lqut to the merchant. Fig. 250 represents a list of goods which he furnished me for our ethnographical collection.

The system of records used by Qači'lqut consists of a representation of the articles, in real or conventionalized form, on one side of a long line, and of special numeral signs on the other. Qači'lqut, however, does not adhere to one particular side in representing the articles or their number. The bill which he presented to me (Fig. 250) differs somewhat from his ordinary notes. His system of sign-figures puzzled me somewhat at first. To my question as to who invented them, Qači'lqut replied, "I know myself." Later on I found in the archives of the natives on the Kolyma River receipts of Russian officials of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The receipts testified as to the payment of tribute in furs by the native chiefs, and the number of fur skins or rubles received as tax was indicated by Russian letters and also by means of the system used by Qači'lqut, evidently for the benefit of the illiterate natives. It consisted of a simplification of the Roman system of numeration, being reduced to three signs only,[3] — I (one), X (ten), and X enclosed in a circle (one hundred), as in Fig. 249, *4*. Such receipts were found also in the archives by Mr. Bogoras. In one, dated 1823, given

[1] See Part I, Fig. 1, p. 20. [2] Ibid., Figs. 40, 41, p. 93.

[3] It is of interest to remember that the ancient Egyptian numeration consisted of only four signs; namely, for 1, 10, 100, and 1000. In composing large numbers, they were used in the same manner as Qači'lqut uses his three signs, — by means of repetition (see Tylor, Anthropology, London, 1904, p. 323).

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

778
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Images of ancestor spirits:
1–having "descendants"; 2–one without living "descendants."

To placate the nin'vits, the Koryaks
sacrificed to them. Thus, a hunter passing by a place considered to be inhabited by a nin'vit' had to make a sacrifice of a pinch of tobacco or several cartridges. The places inhabited by nin'vit's were very numerous; they were cliffs of unusual formation, hot springs or waterfalls, places where a corpse had been burned or a hunter perished, the ruins of a dwelling, abandoned after the death of one of its inhabitants, and so forth. Koryak ideas about the dead were ambivalent. They held that after death a person became a nin'vit', that is, a harmful, hostile being. At the same time, there was the notion of ancestors who lived somewhere underground or in the sky and helped their descendants, sending them success in the hunt, protecting their herds, etc. Ancestor images were made of wood. They were small, crudely carved wooden figures (kalak), representing a sitting or, more rarely, a standing person, with a flat face, without a nose, with two hollows in the place of eyes and a rather large hollow to indicate the mouth. During family celebrations the mouth-hole was filled with fat or fat meat. Every family had whole bundles of kalaks; every Koryak had his own kalak—his personal guardian.

776 [782] [778] 775 776 [778] [532] [782]

The Koryaks believed that the shaman had power over nin'vit's. The shaman communicated with nin'vit's in total darkness; the entrance to the dwelling was carefully closed, the smoke vent was stopped up with a bundle of grass, the hearth fire was put out. The shaman struck his tambourine, cried out fragmentary words and phrases, danced and sang.

756 789

The shaman's actions were usually stimulated by intoxication from the fly-agaric eaten beforehand. When he tired, the shaman fell asleep. The Koryaks believed that the "prophetic fly-agaric" led him into the next world and arranged meetings with dead kinsmen, from whom the shaman obtained the necessary instructions. On awakening from his long sleep, the shaman related his visions to the people around him.

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The Koryak shaman did not have any special dress. He performed his rituals in the usual clothing, which differed from the rest only in the large number of tags and disks of skin or beads attached to it. Some shamans made slight changes in their dress during the ritual performance, such as wearing a man's boot on one foot, and a woman's on the other. The tambourine was narrow-rimmed.

756 291

In addition to professional shamanism, the Koryaks also practiced family shamanism, predominantly in the hands of women. This was closely bound to the cult of the family hearth. Every member born in a family was regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. The exact identity of the ancestor was learned with the aid of divination. For this purpose, a stone in a leather pouch was suspended from a small tripod. The eldest member of the family

756 787 553 [795]

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters.

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynnyaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukintsy, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called enkhivyl''yn (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyr'").

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish.

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few.

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the vanniyayar—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator.

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women.

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins.

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares,